



High on a Rock of Ice the Structure lay,
 Steep its Ascent, and Slippery was the Way;
 On this Foundation **FAME'S** high Temple stands;
 Stupendous Pile! not reared by mortal Hands:
 Here godlike Chiefs in darker Ages born,
 Or Worthies old, whom Arms or Arts adorn,
 Who Cities rais'd, or tamed a monstrous Race,
 The Walls in venerable Order grace:
 But Chief were Those, who not for Empire fought,
 But with their Toils their People's Safety bought.
 Pope.

THE
WAY to the TEMPLE
OF
True HONOR and FAME
BY THE
PATHS of HEROIC VIRTUE;

EXEMPLIFIED IN
The most entertaining LIVES
OF THE
Most eminent PERSONS of both SEXES;
On the Plan laid down by Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE
in his *Essay of Heroic Virtue*.
In FOUR VOLUMES.

By W. COOKE, A. B.
Fellow of NEW COLLEGE, Oxford, and
Chaplain to the Most Honorable the MARQUIS of
TWEEDDALE.

VOLUME I.

*Abhor'd the Tale, which vain Amusement brings,
Tempts the frail Mind, and tickles 'till it stings;
But bless'd these Lines, that in each faithful Page,
Impart the Fruits of far experienc'd Age,
Founded on Truth, the youthful Heart which mend,
And precious Use with various Pleasure blend.*

D E V I Z E S,
Printed and Sold by T. BURROUGH, Bookseller;
Sold also by L. Davis, over against Gray's-Inn-Gate,
Holbourn, LONDON.
M,DCC,LXXIII.

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T O

The MARCHIONESS

O F

TWEEDDALE.

MADAM,

THE design of this work, whatever opinion the world may entertain of the execution of it, is such as may justly claim the patronage and protection of the *Marchioness of Tweeddale*. I might add that there are several concurring reasons, besides a sense of duty and of those weighty obligations which must be ever paying and never paid, which appropriate to your Ladyship an address of this kind. A recital of these
is

is unnecessary, and might be judg'd unseasonable. For your life, tho' it may seem of small concern to yourself at present, is too valuable to your friends for any part of it to be trifled with in the mode of a fashionable Dedication. May the perusal of the following sheets (intended for far other service had it so pleased the wise Disposer of things) have some power to remove that veil of melancholy which shades the lustre of your Virtues, and spreads the gloom of uneasiness on all your friends. They have already paid a due reverence to the justness of your grief, and have reason to expect at length a proper regard to that honor and esteem which all who know you profess to bear for you. There is no complete felicity in this life, and they who suffer with the greatest fortitude

titude and resignation, are the happiest of all who partake of it. This too is our highest piety and the most sovereign sanative of all our griefs. Permit me therefore to say, that your continued excess of sorrow since that melancholy occasion, is neither agreeable to your high quality, nor to the sincerity of your profession as a good Christian, nor to your affection for an amiable daughter, who now demands the fulness of maternal tenderness.

I am far from thinking that my share in the following work is worthy of your Ladyship's, or the public, attention; to which the assistance, which I have received in almost every part of it from him who is the instrument of my being, and whose person, abilities and character

ter are not unknown to your Ladyship and the learned world, may prefer a better title.

THAT by the exercise of your wonted Virtues you may speedily regain that chearful tranquility and pious acquiescence, by which you have hitherto been so eminently distinguished, is the fervent prayer of

YOUR LADYSHIP'S

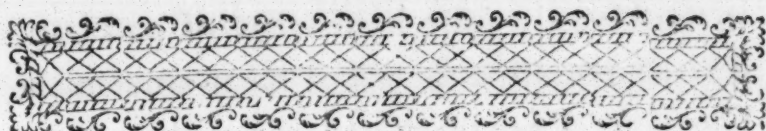
Most obliged,

Most dutiful,

AND

Devoted Servant,

W. Cooke.



T H E
P R E F A C E.

IT is the observation of a grave writer, that *REAL HISTORY*, which imparts the knowledge of past events, affords the best instructions for the regulation and good conduct of human life. The evil accidents which are there recorded to have befallen other men, contain the wisest and most effectual lessons for enabling us to support our own misfortunes with dignity and courage. In the perusal of it, how large a field of reflection is opened to us ! While we see how little confidence is to be reposed in Fortune, even when she flatters with the fairest hopes; how prevalent the wisdom of counsel is, beyond the strength of armies ! And how we are empowered to discern at all times what is fit and useful, without hazard or uneasiness
to

to ourselves ! The knowledge of past transactions therefore is not a meer amusement, but a most necessary and instructive study ; by which we learn with security the arts of gaining to ourselves and country potent alliances and connexions ; of promoting our public and our private interest ; of chusing the most prevailing motives and most proper instruments. In general, the real sentiments and designs of those we live amongst and converse with, are industriously concealed. But, in the accounts of former ages, the facts themselves disclose to us the real views and genuine dispositions of the actors. And the same causes will commonly produce the like effects. By weighing well these truths, a sure resource may be obtained in every dangerous conjuncture ; and the road which leads to success and happiness discovered, even in the shade of a safe and honorable repose.

NONE of these advantages are to be obtained from romantic tales, or the most entertaining

tertaining fables. While under the inspection of the eye, they may indeed amuse the mind: but the perusal is no sooner finished, than the reader's conviction of the falshood gives distaste; and like the baseless fabric of a dream 'tis gone, in the moment that he awakes to reflection. Useful instruction must be founded on reality. Thus truth, as Polybius observes, is the eye of history: for, as an animal when deprived of sight, becomes incapable of performing its natural and proper functions; so if we take away truth from history, what remains is but an useless tale.

BUT in order to please the generality of readers, we have made it our business in the following sheets, to mix delight with profit, and have therefore given the least common and most entertaining lives of both sexes, that could be selected from history. Should these meet with a favorable reception from the public, they will pave the way to others, which, tho' of later date, are yet less known. And, when the plan, on which we profess
to

to procede, is once executed, we would hope from the good sense and politeness of the present age, that Truth and Virtue, disengaged from sourness and austerity, which are not their natural attendants, may once more gain possession of the breasts of the humane and lovely; and shame the vicious taste for lying and corruptive memoirs in general.



T H E
C O N T E N T S
O F T H E
F I R S T V O L U M E.

CHAP.		PAGE.
1	JUPITER and the Gods	4
2	Nimrod	6
3	The Egyptian or Tyrian Hercules	14
4	Ofiris	31
5	Sefostris	41
6	Minos	58
7	Jafon	65
8	Theseus	74
9	Lycurgus	88
10	Solon	133

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The following trifling 'Typographical Errors escaped
our Notice in the Course of the Work.

VOLUME I.

Page 27, line 12, for Phœaician read Phœnician; p. 38, l. 3, dele a; p. 39, l. 11, for Tanitic, read Panitic; ibid line 16, for eigth, read eighth; p. 89, l. 1, for orhers read others; p. 108, line 25, for indubiabie read indubitable; p. 110, line 8, for eigth read eighth; p. 118, line 22, for judical read judicial; page 119, line 4, for judical read judicial; ibid line 21, dele the; p. 143, line 20, for severly read severely; p. 150, l. 23, dele not.

VOLUME II.

Page 1, line 16, for judgement read judgment; page 15, line 11, dele the; page 26, line 15, for perfection, read perfection; page 35, line 8, for imagined read imagined; page 37, line 17, for bevarage, read beverage; page 43, line 7, for thy, read they; page 99, line 22, for from read from; page 100, line 13, dele si at mulation; page 111, line 9, for leizure read leisure; page 126, line 1, dele war.

VOLUME III.

Page 3, line 19, for altotogether read altogether; page 17, line 23, for agreeably read agreeably; page 24, title, for Leondas read Leonidas; page 27, line 12, for submited read submitted; page 36, line 14, for arived, read arrived; page 40, line 2, dele and; page 109, line 28, for yer read yet; page 179, line 2, dele and; page 194, line 16, for employd read employ'd.

VOLUME IV.

Page 5, line 22, for intestlne read intestine; ibid line 25, for Bardyllis read Bardyllys; page 11, line 19, for Bardyllis read Bardyllys, page 17, line 16, dele now; page 68, line 14, for leizure read leisure; page 105, line 24, for soldier read soldiers; page 111 line 15, dele in; page 118, line 11, for mumering read murmuring; page 125, line 3, dele him; page 154, line 14, for conditon read condition; page 165, line 25, for vietims read victims; page 168, line 10, for seuered read soured; p. 200, line 26, dele an.

 The Binder is desired NOT TO BEAT, but PRESS
the Books, as the Paper was rather over-siz'd.





THE
WAY to the **TEMPLE**
 OF
 True **HONOR** and **FAME**,
 BY THE
PATHS of **HEROIC** **VERTUE**.

INTRODUCTION.

THE World has been too much and too long abused with Romances, Memoirs and Private Histories: A Sort of Writings calculated to enflame the Passions and debauch the Youth of both Sexes. The Offence hereby committed against the Public is of a very heinous Nature; as the Injury done to private Families, is inconceivable, and such as may require an Age to repair, if it be at all remediable.

————— *Hæ Nugæ seria ducunt*
In Mala.

Shun the Romance, your precious Time which kills,
 Such empty Trifles lead to serious Ills.

2 INTRODUCTION.

MEAN are the Abilities, which can no Way entertain, without corrupting the Morals of the Reader ; and base the Employment, which proposes Profit, or Satisfaction of any Kind, to itself or Others, by sapping the Foundations of Vertue. It is much to be lamented that these literary Poisons infect chiefly those of Family and Fortune, whose Examples never fail to spread the Contagion of Vice among the lower Clafs of People, who in general form their Actions by the Conduct of their Superiors.

THE following Sheets are intended as an Antidote to this virulent Poison ; and will demonstrate how unnecessary it is to have Recourse to Fiction for Amusement ; and how very consistent the highest Entertainment is with Reality and Truth. It is on this Foundation that Schemes of Life and Enterprizes must be planned ; and by these Lights alone held out, that Events can be foreseen, and an happy Success ensured to our Endeavours. For the same Causes will ever produce the same Effects.

FOR this Reason we have confined ourselves, as much as may be, to *successful* Instances of History, and in Order to make our Antidote the more palatable, have inserted many that are little known. But this is not enough. For, to have it truly such, it was necessary also that only virtuous Examples should be proposed for Imitation. Hence we pay no more Regard

INTRODUCTION.

3

Sylla than to *Masaniello*, nor more to *Semiramis* than to *Joan of Arc*.

FOR the Formation of Heroism in either Sex, there must be, according to Sir *William Temple*, a great and native Excellency of Temper or Genius, transcending the common Race of Mankind in Wisdom, Goodness and Fortitude. These Ingredients advantaged by Birth, improved by Education, and assisted by Fortune, seem to make that noble Composition which gives such a Lustre to those who have possessed it, as made them appear, to common Eyes, something more than Mortals, and to have been born of some Mixture between Divine and Human Race; to have been honoured and obeyed in their Lives, and after their Deaths bewailed and adored:

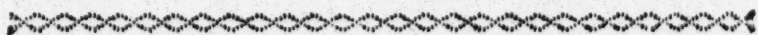
INDEED the Character of Heroic Virtue seems to be in short, the Deserving well of Mankind. Where this is Chief in Design, and Great in Success, the Pretence to Heroism lies very fair, and can never be allowed without it.

THIS Excellency of Genius must be native, because it can never grow to any great height, if it be only acquired or affected. But it must be ennobled by Birth, to give it more Lustre, Esteem and Authority. It must be cultivated by Education and Instruction, to improve its Growth and direct its End and Application. And it

must be assisted by Fortune to preserve it to Maturity. Because the noblest Spirit or Genius in the World, if it falls, howsoever bravely, in its first Enterprizes, cannot deserve enough of Mankind, to pretend to so great a Reward, as is the Esteem of Heroic Virtue.

AND yet perhaps many a Person has dyed in the first Battle or Adventure that he atchieved, and lies buried in Silence and Oblivion, who had he outlived as many Dangers as *Alexander* did, might have shone as bright in the Circle of Honor and Fame. Now as so many Stars go to the Making up of this Constellation, 'tis no Wonder that it has so seldom appeared to the World; nor that, when it does, it is received and followed with so much Gazing, and so great Veneration.

THE Reader, however, will find this Character, rare as it is, exemplified in the following Histories.



C H A P. I. Of JUPITER and the Gods.

FROM all that can be gathered upon the Survey of ancient Story, One would be apt to conclude that *Saturn* was a King of *Crete*, and expelled that Kingdom by his Son, on Account of his Cruelty: That JUPITER, having driven out his Father from
that

that Island conquered *Greece*, or at least the *Peloponnesus*, and having amongst the Inhabitants of those Countries introduced the Use of Agriculture, of Property and Civility, and established a just and regular Kingdom, was by them adored as the chief of their Gods.

Ante JOVEM nulli subigerunt arva Coloni.

Ere *Jove* was born no fertile Soil was till'd,
Nor Swains Industrious reap'd the furrow'd Field.

THE Brothers, Sisters, Sons and Daughters of *JUPITER* were worshipped likewise, for the Invention of Things chiefly useful, necessary, or agreeable to Society and Human Life. So *Neptune*, for the Art or Improvement of Navigation; *Vulcan*, for that of forging Brasses and Iron; *Minerva*, of Spinning; *Apollo*, of Music and Poetry; *Mercury*, of Manual Arts and Merchandise; *Bacchus*, for the Invention of Wine; and *Ceres*, for the Management of Bread-Corn.

No Traces are left, by which a probable Conjecture may be made of the Age, wherein this Race of *Saturn* flourished in the World, nor consequently what Length of Time they were adored. For as to *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, it is generally agreed, that there were more than one or two of those Names, in very different Times, and perhaps Countries, as *Greece* and *Egypt*, and that the last, who was the Son of *Alcmena*, and one of the *Argonauts*, was very modern in Respect

of the other more ancient, who was contemporary with the Race of JUPITER. But the Story of that *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, who are said to have conquered *India*, is grown too obscure, by the dark Shades of so great Antiquity, or disguised by the Mask of Fables, and the Fictions of Poets.

THE same divine Honors were rendered by the *Egyptians* to *Osiris*; in whose Temple was inscribed upon a Pillar, that he had travelled through all Countries, and every where taught Men all that he found necessary for the common Good of Mankind. Like Honors were paid by the *Assyrians* to *Belus*, the reputed Founder of that Kingdom, and the great Inventor or Improver of Astronomy among the *Chaldeans*. Not less Devotion had the original *Latins* or *Etruscans* for their *Janus*, who introduced Agriculture into *Italy*. Thus were these three also worshipped as Gods, by those antient and learned Nations.



C H A P. II. Of N I M R O D.

NIMROD was the sixth Son of *Cush*, the Son of *Ham*, the Son of *Noah*; and in all Appearance much younger than any of his Brothers: For *Moses* mentions the Sons of *Raamah* his fourth Brother, before he speaks of him. What the sacred Historian says
of

N I M R O D.

7

of him, is short. And yet he says more of him, than of any of the Descendants of *Noah*, 'till he comes to *Abraham*. He tells us that NIMROD began to be a mighty one in the Earth ; and that he was a mighty Hunter *before the Lord*. This is only an emphatical Expression, purporting that he was the most remarkable Hunter of his Time. An Exercise by which the Ends of Health and Pleasure are most happily obtained ; according to the Poet,

By Chace our wise Forefathers earn'd their Food ;
Toil strung the Nerves and purified the Blood.
But we, their Sons, a pamper'd Race of Men,
Are dwindled down to Threescore Years and Ten.
Better to hunt in Fields for Health unbought,
Than see the Doctor for a nauseous Draught.
The Wife for Health on Exercise depend :
God never made his Work for Man to mend.

BUT This is also one of the preparatory Steps to Heroism, and was made by NIMROD subservient to his Ambition. A great Multitude of hardy and robust young Men became his Companions in the Chace. And by the Assistance of These he secured to himself a considerable Dominion. The Beginning of his Kingdom was *Babel*, and *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Cahneh* in the Land of *Shinaar*.

By this Account a great Idea has been conceived of his Strength and Valour. Some represent him as
a Person

a Person of Gigantic Stature; but all consider him as a great Warrior. Some of the Rabbins say, that he was qualified by a peculiar Dexterity and Strength for the Chace; and that he offered to God the Game that he took. And several of the Moderns are of Opinion that the Passage, which calls him a *mighty Hunter*, is not to be understood of his tyrannical Oppressions, or of Hunting Men, but Beasts. Tho' Mr. *Pope* has taken it in the most unfavorable Sense,

Proud NIMROD first the bloody Chace began,
A mighty Hunter, and his Prey was Man.

BUT there is no real Foundation for this Censure. The Phrase is not only inoffensive; but may be considered as the Commendation of a Person's good Qualities. And certainly Hunting must have been one of the most useful Employments in the Times just after the Dispersion, when all Countries were over-run with wild Beasts, of which it was necessary that they should be cleared, in Order to make them safe and habitable. Therefore Nothing seems more proper to procure a Man Esteem and Honor in those Ages, than the being a perfect Master of the Chace, as NIMROD was. By that Exercise the ancient *Persians* fitted their Kings for War and Government: And Hunting is still, in many Countries, considered as one Part of a Royal Education.

THERE

THERE is nothing in the short History of this Heroe, which carries the least Air of Reproach, except his Name, which signifies a *Rebel*. And yet, according to the Difference of Derivation, it may as well signify a *Taker of wild Beasts*. This however is the Circumstance, which seems to have occasioned the injurious Opinions which have been entertained of him. Commentators, being prepossessed in general, that the Curse of *Noah* fell upon the Posterity of *Ham*, and finding this Prince stigmatized by his Name, have interpreted every Passage relating to him, to his Disadvantage. They represent him as a Rebel against GOD, in perswading the Descendants of *Noah*, to disobey the divine Command to disperse ; and in setting them to build the Tower of *Babel*, with an impious Design of scaling Heaven.

AN *Arabian* Author says he built this Tower, that he might ascend to Heaven to see *Abraham's GOD*, who had delivered him from the fiery Furnace, into which he had cast him. They work'd, says he, at this Building three Years, and when NIMROD had got on the Top of it, he wondered to see the Heaven as far from him as it was before. But his Astonishment encreased, when this Tower, and another which had been built for the same Purpose, were successively overthrown. Still persisting in his Design, he would be carried to heaven in a Chest, borne by four monstrous Birds : But after wandering for some Time through the Air, he fell
down

down on a Mountain, with such a Force as made it shake.

NIMROD, by this Disappointment, finding that he could not make War with GOD in person, instead of acknowledging his Power, proceeded to persecute those who adored any besides Himself. But GOD, by dividing his Subjects and confounding their Language, deprived him of the greater Part of his People, and plagued those who continued to adhere to him, by a Cloud of Gnats, which destroyed almost all of them.

ANOTHER Author adds that one of those Gnats, having entered into the Nostril or Ear of NIMROD, penetrated to one of the Membranes of his Brain, where growing bigger every Day, it gave him such intolerable Pain, that he was obliged to cause his Head to be beaten with a Mallet, in Order to procure some Ease; and that he suffered this Torture for the Space of four hundred Years: GOD being willing to punish by one of the smallest of his Creatures, Him who insolently boasted himself to be the Lord of All.

SUCH are the unaccountable Reveries of the Orientalists. Some of whom make him the Author of the Sect of the *Magi*, or Worshippers of Fire; and tell us that accidentally seeing Fire rise out of the Earth, at a great Distance from him in the East; he worshipped it, and appointed one *Andesham* to attend the Fire there, and throw Frankincense into it.

THUS

THUS they brand him without Reason as an ambitious Usurper and insolent Oppressor ; and make him the impious Author of the Adoration of Fire, of idolatrous Worship given to Men ; and the first Persecutor on the Score of Religion.

ON the contrary there are Others of a more liberal Way of Thinking, who account him a vertuous Prince, and so far from advising the Building of *Babel*, that they represent him as leaving the Country, and passing into *Afflyria*, because he would not give his Consent to it. Therefore, say they, God gave him another Country, where he built four other Cities, viz. *Nineveh*, *Platiath-Kartha*, *Parioth* and *Pelafar*.

THE Eastern Writers make him not only the first King of *Babel*, but of all the World ; and say that he was the first that wore a Crown, the Model of which he took from the Figure of one that he had seen in the Sky. For, being pleased with the Appearance, he sent immediately for an Artist, and had a Crown of Gold cast in the same Form, which he put upon his Head. His Subjects hence took Occasion to say, that it came down to him from Heaven.

THE four Cities which *Moses* ascribes to NIMROD, made a large Kingdom in those early Times, when few Kings had more than one. Only it must be observed that Possessions might at first have been large, and afterwards

terwards divided into several Parcels; and NIMROD being the Leader of a Nation, we may suppose his Subjects fettled within those Limits. Whether he became possessed of those cities by Conquest, is not certain. Tho' he was the Founder of the Kingdom; it is most probable that he was not the Builder of *Babel*. All the Posterity of *Noah* seem to have been equally concerned in that Affair. However, according to *Abulfarag*, he did build *Erech*, *Accad*, and *Calneh*; and, according to Others, *Adherbijan* in the *Persian* Province of the same name, and *Takharat*, where he coined Money. His Works were very magnificent. He dug several Rivers in *Erak*, derived from the *Euphrates*, of which that of *Cutha*, in the Way from *Babel* to *Cusah*, was one.

It may seem a little strange that NIMROD should be preferred to the Regal Dignity, and enjoy the most cultivated Part of the Earth then known, rather than any other of the elder Chiefs or Heads of Nations, even of the Branch of *Ham*. Perhaps it was conferred on him for his Dexterity in Hunting: Or it may be, that he did not assume the Title of King, 'till after his Father *Cush's* Death, who might have been fettled there before him, and left him the Sovereignty. But we are inclined to think that he seized *Shinaar* from the Descendants of *Shem*, driving out *Ashur*, who from thence went and founded *Nineveh*, and other Cities in *Assyria*.

WE are not satisfied precisely of the Time that NIMROD began his Reign. Some date it before the Dispersion. But such a Conjecture does not seem to suit well with the *Mosaic* History. For before the Dispersion we read of no City but *Babel*. Nor could there well be more, while all Mankind were yet in a Body together. But when NIMROD assumed the regal Title, there seem to have been other Cities built. This shews it to have been some considerable Time after the Dispersion. We may venture to place the beginning of his Reign thirty Years after that remarkable Event. And in all Likelihood, it should be placed rather later than earlier.

HE is said to have reigned four hundred Years, and to have been succeeded by a Prince of the same Family, whose Name was *Nabat Ebn Koud*, who reigned one hundred Years. But all the most ancient Kings of the *Babylonians* were from the Founder of their Empire called *Nimaredah* or *Nimrods*.

THERE is a Tradition that he was killed by the Fall of the Tower of *Babel*, or some Part of it at least, while he was within it.



C H A P. III.

Of the EGYPTIAN OR TYRIAN
HERCULES.

ARCLÉS or HERCULES was of *Canaanitish* Extraction, tho' born in the lower *Egypt*. His Youth was particularly distinguished by Acts of Prudence and Bravery, under the Eye of *Janias*, the King of lower *Egypt*. Insomuch that on the Death of that Monarch, and on the Score of personal Merit only, he succeeded to the Government of that Kingdom by Election. His Name in the *Chaldee* signifies a Person remarkable for *Swiftness*. For in the early Ages of the World this was deemed a necessary Qualification for an *HEROË*; and is that for which *Achilles* is particularly distinguished by *Homer*. He obtained the Surname of *Assis*, which imports as much as *The Strong* or *Valiant*.

HE began his Reign about the Year of the World 2131; and it proved a Reign of continual War and Trouble. For he was the last of the *Hycsos* or Shepherd-Kings, whom the Monarchs of Upper *Egypt* had been long endeavouring to expel. He therefore sustained an uninterrupted War for the Space of forty-nine Years and two Months, against *Goformies* first, and afterwards against his Successor *Mares*, who is also called *Amosis* or *Thetmosis*.

It happened in the Reign of *Timaus* King of *Egypt*, that a Multitude of Men, pouring from the East into that Country, made War with the Inhabitants. Sir *Isaac Newton* is of Opinion that they were *Canaanites*, who fled from *Jeshua*, and went into *Africa*; but in their Flight seized on the Kingdom of the lower *Egypt*. In which Conjecture he is however undoubtedly mistaken; as will further appear by and by. The *Egyptians*, surprized with the Suddenness of the Invasion, submitted without trying the Event of a Battle. Having reduced the Princes, they are said to have behaved in a most cruel and insulting Manner over the ancient Inhabitants; and set up one of their Number for King, whose Name was *Salatis*. *Memphis* was the Place of his usual Residence; but he left Garrisons wherever they were judg'd necessary, and kept both the upper and lower Region under Tribute. But he particularly fortified the Eastern Parts, fearing an Invasion of the *Assyrians*, who were at that Time very powerful. Finding therefore a convenient City in the *Saitic Nome*, which was seated on the Eastern Banks of the River *Bubastis*, and which was called *Avaris* or *Abaris*, he rebuilt it, and surrounded the whole District, containing ten thousand Acres of Land with a strong Wall. Here he kept a continual Garrison of twenty four thousand Warriors. It was his Custom, about the Time of Harvest, to come hither to gather in his Corn, and to pay and exercise his Soldiers, that they might always be ready and fit for Action, and a constant Terror to any who should at-

tempt an Invasion. *Salatis* dyed and was succeeded by five Others, viz. *Beon*, *Aphacnas*, *Apophis*, *Janias*, and, last of all, by our **HERCULES ASSIS**.

THESE were called *Hycfos* or *King-Shepherds* : the Word *Hyc* in the sacred Dialect signifying a *King*, and *Sos* in the common Dialect signifying a *Shepherd* or *Pastor* ; and of these two came the Compound *Hycfos*. These held all lower *Egypt* in Subjection for the Space of 259 Years. *Gosformies* had gained considerable Advantages over them by the great Superiority of his Numbers ; and his Son *Mares* or *Thetmosis* had now shut them up in *Abaris*, where they were besieged by this King of the Upper *Egypt* in Person at the Head of an Army consisting of four hundred and eighty thousand Men.

HERCULES sustained the Siege with the utmost Bravery and Prudence. He cultivated the inclosed Spot in such a Manner that it yielded Provisions sufficient for all his People. At the same Time he exerted himself so effectually against the Enemy, that they could not gain, with all their Numbers, the least Advantage over him.

Thetmosis, seeing it impossible to reduce them by Force, entered into a Treaty with **HERCULES**, which was at length concluded. By one of the Articles, the last was to quit *Egypt*, quietly and peaceably, carrying with him all his People, with their Wealth and Substance ;

Substance; and the former was to allow them to retire whither they themselves pleased, without Molestation.

THE Agreement was faithfully executed on both Sides. And HERCULES, at the Head of his Subjects, amounting with their Families to two hundred and forty Thousand Souls, withdrew from *Egypt*. When he marched off, he took the way of the Desert, and enter'd *Syria*. Thence proceeding to the Country from which his Ancestors came, and which is now called *Judea*, he there founded the City of *Jerusalem*.

HAVING here settled a Number of his People, and established good Order and Regularity amongst them, he marched with the Rest northward, as far as to the *Mediterranean Sea*.

HAVING here pitched upon a convenient Spot for the Foundation of a new City, he built the strong Hold of *Tyre*, and had Views of making it, what it soon proved to be, the richest Emporium in the World. Here he was called *Melcarthus*, or *King of the City*. His Views however were not confined to the City; but extended to Mankind in general. He intended indeed to make that the principal Mart of Trade; but by the Means of Commerce to civilize and improve the World. With Respect to the former, his Encouragement of Trade and Navigation was superior to any Thing heard of in those Ages; and with

Respect to the latter, not content with the indolent Enjoyment of Royalty, he determined to visit in Person, and to plant Colonies in, the remotest Parts.

BUT it was at *Tyre* (thus founded about the Time that *Abraham* was in *Canaan*) that he found out the Purple Dye, which was first made with the Liquor of a Shell-Fish, called afterwards in *Latin*, *Murex*. This was the Colour, with which Kings were adorned in those Days, and therefore a King was called *Porphyron*, or one that wore Purple. And *HERCULES* himself, tho' called at other Times the *Tyrian* or the *Egyptian* *HERCULES*, is sometimes called the *Phœnician* *HERCULES* from this Colour. And the Country near *Tyre* and *Sidon*, and especially the Sea-Coast, where they caught these Fish, and carried on the Purple Trade, was thence called *Phœnicia*.

HE was well acquainted with the Philosophy of his Times. Having observed that the Kings of upper *Egypt* computed three hundred and sixty-five Days to their Year, and finding it, upon a close Examination to be more exact according to the annual Motion of the Sun, he introduced the same Way of Reckoning into his Kingdom. And it continued the same for many Ages afterwards.

HIS first Voyage was into *Greece* to consult the Oracle of *Dodona*. This was a famous Patriarchal or Druidical

Druidical Temple composed of one or more Pillars of Stone, with an Altar, and surrounded by a circular Plantation of Oaken Trees. So *Virgil* says

That Oaks were held for Oracles by *Greece*.

To the same Place, and on the same Errand the great *Homer* sends *Ulysses*.

The darling Object of your royal Love
Was journey'd thence to *Dedonean* *Jove*;
By the sure Precept of the *Sylvan* Shrine,
To form the Conduct of his great Design.

For the Patriarchal Religion was not confined to the Patriarchs and their Descendants, tho' it was preserved pure through them, while most of the Nations fell into great Corruptions; nor to the Land of *Canaan*, in which they chiefly resided. For it was then the reigning Religion of *Egypt*, and a good Part of *Asia*; and was afterwards transplanted by *HERCULES* into the farther Part of *Africa*, the Continent of *Europe*, and the *British* Isles. Which last particularly abound with Monuments of the same Worship.

Our Heroe is said to have ordered the City of *Tyre* to be built, where the *Ambrosial* Stones stood, which were two moveable Rocks standing by an *Olive* Tree. These Rocks were made moveable by a Yolk extuberant in the Middle of the under Surface of the uppermost Stone, which was inserted in a Cavity in the Surface of the lower Stone. He was to sacrifice on them,

them, and they were to become fixt and stable ; or rather, the City should be built with happy Auspice and become permanent and glorious.

THESE *Ambrosial Stones* were no other than Stones consecrated or anointed with *Oil of Roses* ; which was afterwards on that Account said to be the Food of the Gods. And for their Mobility, they were termed by the *Greeks, Living Stones.*

THE Antiquarian *Vaillant* has given us three Medals struck by the City of *Tyre* in Honor of their illustrious Founder. In the first are represented *two Pillars* ; on one Side an *Altar* with Fire burning, on the other an *Olive Tree* : Underneath AMBROCIE PETRE, signifying *Ambrosial Stones* : The Inscription COL. TYR. METR. In the second is HERCULES sacrificing on the *Altar* and *two Pillars* erected near. In the third, an *Olive Tree* between *two Pillars*, and an *Altar* underneath.

SUCH were the *Pillars* of HERCULES, who led Colonies to *Africa, Spain, Gaul*, and the *British Isles*, and erected every where these standing Monuments of himself, and of the Religion which he planted.

HAVING made the necessary Provision for the Security and good Government of the City, he set out upon his second Voyage ; intending to promote the Reformation

Reformation of Mankind by the Cultivation of true Religion and the Arts of Civility and Commerce. In this Expedition he was attended by some Descendants of the righteous *Abraham* from about the *Red Sea*, and particularly by *Apher* the Son of *Midian*, from whom that Part of the World called *Aphrica*, took its Name, whose Daughter he married, and by whom he had a Son named *Dodorus*.

FROM this Expedition the Foundation of all the Colonies must be laid, which are derived from the *Phanicians*, either in the neighbouring Part of *Canaan*, or in the Islands of the *Mediterranean Sea*, or in the Continent of *Greece*, especially in *Argos*, or on the Coast of *Mauritania*. Tho' these last were greatly augmented in Numbers of People, by those who afterwards fled into the Parts about *Tangier*, when *Joshua* conquered the Land of *Canaan*.

WHEN HERCULES came to *Tangier*, he had several sharp Engagements with *Antæus* the King of that Country, who had lately taken Possession of it. He is reckoned by some to have been the Son of *Atlas* (whom *Sanconiathe* makes to be one of the Sons of *Noah*) and to have been in Favour with *Mixraim* the Son of *Hem* in Upper *Egypt*, and sent from him to govern *Ethiopia* and that Part of *Africa*. But this is inconsistent with Chronology. It is more probable that the Posterity of the first *Antæus* might People *Africa* from
the

the Parts of *Ethiopia* toward the West, by the Banks of the River *Niger*, 'till they came to *Cape de Verde*, where one of their Rulers might be called *Atlas*, and from him the high Mountain in that Country, so famed amongst the Poets for bearing up the Heavens, might take its Name. This *Atlas* might have a Son, whom like the other, he might call *Antæus*: and so the Historians might easily mistake the one for the other, Or the Successors of the first *Antæus* may for some Time have been called by his Name. This last was the Founder of *Tangier*. He is said to have been a large Giant, and of vast Height, who wrestled with *HERCULES*, and as often as he was weary and faint, he would but touch the Earth and recover perfect Strength again. But *HERCULES* at last crushed him to Death between his Arms, and after that carried the Axle-Tree of the Heavens to relieve *Atlas*. The Meaning of this mystical Story can be no more than this: that *HERCULES* landed in those Parts; that *Antæus* was a famous Warrior, and almost a Match for him, and that, being foiled in several Battles, he retired into the Country and raised fresh Recruits. This enabled him to hazard several other Engagements, 'till in the End he was entirely defeated and slain. After which *HERCULES* took Possession of the Country, and sustained the Weight of the Government, which *Antæus* and his Father *Atlas* had done before. In Commemoration hereof the Country thereabout, which juts into the Sea, is called by ancient Geographers, The Promontary of *HERCULES*. IN

IN this Expedition he sent his Son *Sardus* from *Africa* with Ships to settle a Colony in the Island of *Sardinia*, which from him received that Denomination. Whereas it had been before called *Sandeliope* and *Ich-neusa* from the *Sole of the Foot*, which the Figure of this Island represents.

HIMSELF in Person visited the Coasts of *Italy*, *France*, and *Spain*, and left Colonies behind him in many Places. To these the *Phœnicians* sent Reinforcements as Occasion required; and by his Example learned to settle new Plantations. This is the Reason that so vast a Number of Towns, Seas, Rivers, Mountains and Countries are to be met with both in *Europe* and *Africa*, whose Names are derived from the *Phœnician* Language.

THE *Chronicon* of *Eusebius* has fixed the Victory of HERCULES over *Antæus* at about three hundred and ninety three Years before the Destruction of *Troy*. This answers well enough to the Account given by *Sanconiatho*, who makes our HERCULES to have been the Son of *Demaroon* surnamed *Zeus*, who was the Son of *Ouranos* (or *Noah*) who was the Son of *Elion* or *Uppistus*: and which renders him contemporary with *Abraham* and *Isaac*.

HIS Fleet now came to the *Straights*, where the Land on both Sides is terminated Westward by the
great

great Atlantic Ocean. And on both Sides our Adventurer erected Temples to the GOD of Heaven, which were long after entitled the Pillars of HERCULES. He then entered the wide Sea, and coasting to the Right, took Possession of *Gadira* or *Gades*; where in after Times a magnificent Temple was erected to his Honor; where, in Imitation of the Religion which he planted, the Rites were simple and no Images allowed. Here he slew *Geryon*, who opposed him, and who is represented by the Poets as having three Heads, because he was King of all the Provinces into which *Spain* was then divided.

HENCE he proceeded even to the *British* Islands, settling Colonies and raising Pillars, wherever he came.

To his Arrival in these Islands (and not in *Liguria*) must be applied whatever is related of his Encounter with *Albion* and *Bergion*, and of his being assisted, when his Weapons were spent, by a Shower of Stones from Heaven. *Albion* is the Name given afterwards to this Country; and by the miraculous Shower of Stones no more is intended, than that the Inhabitants were at last reconciled to him, on Account of the divine Religion which he taught, and the great Number of these open Temples of Stone erected by him.

THAT the same HERCULES and his Companions carried *Tin* from *Britain*, or the *Cassiterid* Islands; which was afterwards made much Use of by the *Midianites* and *Arabians*, we have the Authority of the Ancients for saying. And from what other Maritime Country it could come, in Quantities sufficient to supply the Markets of *Tyre*, is to us unknown. The *Greek* Word, *Cassiterides*, is but a Translation of that Name, *Barat-Anak*, or the Land of *Tin*, by which the *Phœnicians* originally distinguished these Islands; and of which *Britain* is but a Corruption. This gainful Branch of Commerce was carried on by the *Phœnicians* for Ages afterwards. But that those jealous Traders should endeavour to keep both that, and the Course which they steered, as much a Secret as might be; is without Difficulty accounted for. But whether they were acquainted with the Use of the Sea-Compass, without which the Voyage could not easily be performed, is another Point.

THE Use of the Mariners' Compass has been so long known to the *Chinese*, that they have no Records or Notion of its Origin. The Case is the same with the *Arabians*, who by the Help of it still traverse the wild Desarts, nor can any of them tell when the Practice first commenced. *Herwart* endeavours to prove that the old *Egyptians* had the Use of it, and that the *Bembin* Table contains the

Doctrine of it enveloped in Hieroglyphics. The learned *Fuller* asserts that the *Phœnicians* knew the Use of it, which they endeavoured to conceal by all possible Means, as they did their Trading in general. *Osius*, in his Discourse of the Acts of King *Emanuel*, refers the Use of the Compass among the *Europeans* to *Vasquez de Gama* and the *Portuguese*, who found it among some barbarous Pirates about the *Cape of good Hope*; who probably were some Remains of the old *Phœnicians* or *Arabians*, or at least had preserved from them this Practice. But *Monf. Fauchet*, in his *Antiquities of France*, quotes some Verses from a Poet in that Country, who wrote in the Year of our LORD 1180: wherein is as plain a Description of the Mariner's Box, as Words can make.

It appears that the Heathens made an Emblem of it in their public Worship. For what was called the Image of *Jupiter Ammon* (whose *Libian* Temple, according to *Herodotus*, took its Rise from *Phœnicia*) was nothing more than a *Compass Box*, which was carried about by the Priests, when the Oracle was consulted, in a *Golden Ship*. It is probable that the famous *Golden Fleece* was nothing else: whence the Ship of *Phrixus* (who is *Apher* or *Aphricus*, and the same with *Jupiter Ammon*) which carried it, is said to have been *sensible* and possessed of the Gift of Speech. So also the Ship *Argos* which fetched it from *Colchis*. To these Testimonies we may subjoin
that

that of the great *Homer*, who, speaking of the *Phœnicians* and their extraordinary Skill in Maritime Affairs and Encouragement of every Branch of nautical Science, makes *Alcinous* give to the Shipping of his Island the same common Character with *Argos*, and the Ship of *Phrixus*, in the following Lines, which have puzzled all the Commentators; and which either have no Meaning at all, (which is scarce to be supposed of *Homer*) or plainly evince the Use of the Compass amongst that Seafaring People:

No Pilot's Aid *Phœaician* Vessels need,
Themselves *instinct* with Sense securely speed;
Endu'd with wondrous Skill, untaught they share
The Purpose and the Will of those they bear;
To fertile Realms and distant Climates go,
And, where each Realm and City lies, they know:
Swiftly they fly, and through the pathless Sea,
Tho' wrapt in Clouds and Darknefs, find their Way.

THE *Golden* or *Brass* Cup, which is said by very many ancient Authors to have been given to *HERCULES* by *Apollo*, or *Nereus*, or *Oceanus*, and with which he sailed over the Ocean, can mean nothing but the Mariners' Compass, to the Knowledge of which he had at least attained. Tho' I should rather imagine him to have been the Inventor of it, by the Name *Lapis Heraclius* given to the Magnet.

It is not to be doubted but that HERCULES either made more than one Voyage to these Islands ; or that his Stay here was so very considerable, that several Voyages were performed by his Associates to and from them in the mean Time. For we have such Memorials of him as could not suddenly have been raised : particularly the Founding a City called after him, the *City of Hercules*, now *Hartlepo'e* upon the Coast of *Durham* ; a manifest Corruption of *Heracleopolis*. In all probability the City of *Old Sarum* in *Wiltshire* was also founded by him ; the ancient Name of *Sarvodunum* being compounded of two *Phœnician* Words, and given to it from its *Height* and *Dryness*. It was also built after the Model of *Alesia* in *Gaul*, which History assures us was founded by HERCULES. The superb Temples of *Abray* and *Stonehenge* in the same County were also, in all Probability indebted to him for their Existence. It required also much Time to bring the Mines in *Cornwall* and the *Seylly* Islands to any good Effect : for this, no doubt, was done under his immediate Inspection. There is a Tradition, mentioned by *Norden* in his *Antiquities of Cornwall*, which is universally received by the Inhabitants of that Country, that their Mines were anciently wrought by the *Jews*. He says that these old Works are called *Attal Sarazin*, the *ancient cast-off Works of the Jews*, or rather of the *Arabians* ; in which their Tools are frequently found. But above all, the Establishment of the Order

der of the *Druids* in *Britain* required deliberate Care and Circumspection.

THERE is another Memorial of him in the Name of the Promontory, which is called *Hartland Point* in *Devonshire*; which, as Mr. *Camden* observes, is but an Abbreviation of *Herculis Promontorium*.

IN the Church-Yard of *Corbridge* in *Northumberland*, not far from *Hartlepole*, is a very ancient Altar inscribed to the TYRIAN HERCULES, viz. HERACLEI TURIO DIODORA ARCHIEREA. That is, To the TYRIAN HERCULES ARCHISACERDOTAL OFFERINGS. On the one Side, is figured a Bull's Head with a sacrificing Knife; on the other, the Wreath of Victory. But this I imagine to have been done by the *Ionians* of *Asia Proper*. For they were expert Mariners, sailed long Voyages in fifty-oar'd Gallies, were pretty early acquainted with the Coasts and Islands of *Europe*, and may be said to have succeeded the *Tyrians* in Maritime and commercial Glory. By the Mention of *Divine Archisacerdotal offerings* in the Inscription, and by the Sacrifice of prime Victims to him (signified by the *Bull's Head*) they must have respected the TYRIAN HERCULES as a Diety of the first Class; judging no Honors extravagant which were paid to this adventurous and successful Heroe (which Character is pointed at in the Figure of the Wreath) who first taught the Way to *Britain*.

THIS HERCULES was at last cast away, and lost his Life in that Element which he seemed before to have subdued. Whence he was worshipped as a God of the Sea by the *Greeks* and called *Palæmon*.

So perished this great Heroe of Antiquity, the Terror of Oppressors, the Friend of Liberty and Mankind, for whose Interest and Happiness he braved the greatest Dangers, and surmounted the most arduous Toils, going through the whole Earth with no other View, than the establishing Peace, Justice, Commerce and Freedom. Nothing can be added to heighten a Character so glorious as this.

ACCORDINGLY, many Persons have been fond of assuming this celebrated Name. Hence *Diodorus* reckons up three; *Cicero* six; and Others to the Number of forty-three. And the *Greeks* ascribed to their HERCULES the Actions of all the rest. But the Foundation of all was laid in the *Phœnician* or *Egyptian* HERCULES. For the *Egyptians* did not borrow the Name from the *Grecians*; but rather the *Grecians* (especially those who gave it to the Son of *Amphitryon* and *Alcmena*) from the *Egyptians*: principally, because the Parents of the GRECIAN HERCULES were both of *Egyptian* Descent. We have given one Signification of the Name already. But another may be given of *Phœnician* Extraction; which is that of *Harokel*, a *Merchant*: a Name given

to the Discoverers of new Countries and the Planters of Colonies there; who frequently signalized themselves no less by civilizing the Inhabitants, and freeing them from the wild Beasts which infested them, than by the Commerce which they established; which no doubt was the Source of ancient Heroism and War: as was before observed in the History of *Nimrod*.



CH A P. IV. OF O S I R I S.

IN order to induce a veneration for their persons and institutes, it has been no unusual artifice in lawgivers to have themselves reputed by their followers, the progeny of the Sun. This was the case with OSIRIS, who was said to be the son of Sol. Many incredible things are related of him by the Egyptians; as that he married his sister Isis, and that the fondness of this pair for each other commenced so early, that, enticed by a mutual love, they embraced while yet in their mother's womb; and it was thought that Arueris, the elder Orus of the Egyptians, and the Apollo of the Greeks, was the fruit of this early conjunction.

THE truth is, that the Egyptians, to do the greater honor to their three great favourites, OSIRIS,

RIS, Orus, and Isis, made them afterwards to represent the objects of their idolatrous worship. Thus they looked upon OSIRIS as the representative of the Sun, Orus of the Light, and Isis of the Æther. So that the above tale contains only this simple truth, that "Light began to flow from the body of the Sun, from its first existence, through the midst of Æther." But all this while these themselves, the Sun, the Light, and Æther, were considered by that people originally but as primary representatives or emblems. Plutarch therefore refers us higher; affirming, that "OSIRIS signifies the active Principle, or the most holy Being; Isis the wisdom or rule of his operation; Orus the first production of his power, the model or plan by which he produced every thing, or the archetype of the world." But to leave the mystery, and return to the narration.

OSIRIS had no sooner obtained the kingdom of Egypt, than he reclaimed the Inhabitants from their savage and brutal way of living, shewed them the fruits of the earth, and instituted divine worship; building the city of Thebes, as is said, and erecting several temples. But that his beneficence might not be confined within the limits of his own country, he undertook to visit the several nations upon earth. All those, which he did visit, he civilized, not by the forcible constraint of arms, but by dint
of

of reason and persuasion, assisted by the powerful allurements of Music and Poetry. His manner of setting out, and the more remarkable particulars of his travels, are thus told.

HAVING in view the vast and beneficial design above-mentioned, he raised a great number of followers, amongst whom was his brother Apollo, who claimed the Laurel as sacred to him, as the Ivy was to OSIRIS. He took also his two sons with him, Anubis and Macedo. These two wore coats of mail, and over them the skin of such a beast as corresponded with the nature of their courage. So Anubis had a dog's skin, and Macedo the skin of a wolf. And hence, say they, the dog and the wolf were afterwards worshipped in Egypt. Pan also was of the company. He too was afterwards highly revered over all the country; inasmuch that he had not only statues and temples erected to him, but the city of Chémnis also, which signified Pan's city. We must add to these Maro, famous for planting and dressing vines; and Triptolemus, for sowing corn and gathering in the harvest. Finally, OSIRIS took with him nine virgins, proficient in Music and the arts, who being committed to the care of Apollo, he thence obtained the title of master of the Nine Sisters or Muses. Some Satyrs, that is, rude and uncivilized people who inhabit the woods and mountains, he met with as he went towards

wards Ethiopia. These were acceptable to him on account of their jocund disposition, and the diversion which they gave by their antic behaviour, skipping and dancing.

BUT before he left Egypt, he provided against any disturbances that might arise in his absence, by committing the administration to trusty and sagacious persons. For he invested Isis with the regency, in which he left his friend Hermes to assist her. Hermes was also called Mercury, Thoth, Thoyth, Tauautes and Trismegistus, and by other names. It is a common opinion, that there were two persons, or more, who bore these appellations. However, we here speak of them as one person, and enumerate the several inventions and books ascribed to him. He invented articulate Sounds, Appellatives, Letters, Religion, Astronomy, Music, Wrestling, Arithmetic, Statuary, the three-fringed Lyre, and the use of the Olive; not Minerva, as the Greeks by mistake asserted. He was stiled the Father of Eloquence, and thence he derived his name of Hermes, the interpreter, or speaker. As to the books he wrote, one Author reckons them no fewer than 20,000. Another exceeds and computes them at 36,525. These numbers are so enormous, that it has been a stumbling-block to the learned to conceive how one person should be the author of such myriads of Tracts. Therefore some have supposed

these

these computations to refer to verses ; others to leaves of the Papyrus ; and others again to succinct discourses and proverbs. But Clemens of Alexandria will lead us out of this labyrinth, by the following account of an ancient Egyptian procession: The first that advanced (says he) was a chanter or singer, who bore some symbol of music: his business was to receive two of the books of Mercury or Thoth ; of which the one contained hymns to the gods, and the other rules for the king to observe. Secondly, an astrologer bearing a dial and a palm, which were symbols of astrology: he was obliged to have the four astrological books of Mercury by heart ; the first of which contained the places of the fixed stars, and the three others treated of the sun and moon, their eclipses, illuminations, rising, and the like. Thirdly, an Hierogrammateus or sacred scribe, with a feather in his head, bearing a book and a rule, in which were ink and a reed to write with: he was versed in the subjects of ten books ; the first treated of hieroglyphics : the second of cosmography: the third of geography: the fourth of the order of the sun and moon: the fifth of the five planets: the sixth of the chorography of Egypt: the seventh contained a description of the Nile: the eighth a description of the sacred utensils, and of the places consecrated to them: the ninth treated of measures: and the tenth of whatsoever was necessary in the Egyptian worship. Fourthly, a

Stolistes,

Stolistes, a kind of solemn marshal, holding the cubit of justice, and a cup for libations : he knew whatever concerned the institution of youth, and the sealing of victims. The whole Egyptian religion was comprehended in ten books. The 1. related to the sacrifices ; the 2. to first-fruits ; the 3. to hymns ; the 4. to prayers ; the 5. to procession ; the 6. to festivals ; and the other four to the like subjects. Fifthly, and last of all, came the Prophet, bearing a water-pot openly in his bosom, and followed by those who carried the processional bread : he, as presiding over the temple, studied the ten books called sacerdotal, which spoke of the laws, the gods, and the whole discipline of the priesthood. Here we have an account of 36 books of Hermes : besides which, he wrote six more, which treated of anatomy, diseases, medicaments, and the like, so that he was author of forty-two in all. This is a more rational account. And this was the sagacious person, or one of the same character, that was left behind to assist Isis in the government of the kingdom of Egypt.

MOREOVER, Hercules was appointed over the forces at home ; and Antæus, Busiris, and Prometheus, were constituted governors over several provinces.

OSIRIS, having thus settled affairs in Egypt, began his progress, moving first towards Ethiopia. In this country he raised the banks of the Nile, and dug several Canals, thereby to prevent the too frequent inundations, and to abate and distribute the waters. While he was thus employed in Ethiopia, the Nile broke down its banks in Egypt, and overflowed great part of the country with so sudden and impetuous a tide, that it swept away all before it, and drowned great multitudes of people, doing particular damage in Prometheus' jurisdiction, whereat he was grieved almost to despair. But Hercules soon drained off the waters, and thence is said to have shot the eagle through, which preyed upon the heart of Prometheus. For the rapidity of the flood was compared to the flight of an eagle, and the river was from thence sometimes called after that bird.

BUT to return to OSIRIS. He instructed the Ethiopians in all rural matters, and, having built them several cities, he departed, leaving some behind him to act as governors, and others to gather in his tribute.

FROM Ethiopia he marched into Arabia, and thus continued his travels till he had got beyond India. In India he built several cities, and particularly Nyfa, which he so called from the place where (according to some) he was bred up. Here he plant-

ed the Ivy, which was no where else to be found in India ; and left so many Monuments of himself behind him, as afterwards gave room to dispute, whether he was not originally of this part of the world.

HAVING surveyed all Asia, he crossed the Hellespont, and landing in Thrace, slew Lycurgus the king of the country, for the opposition which he gave to his progress. Here he left Maro to cultivate the land, and commanded him to build a city, and call it, in derivation from his own name, Maronea. Afterwards he bestowed upon his son Macedo the country of Macedonia, which borrowed its name from him ; and Triptolemus had charge of Attica.

AT length OSIRIS returned back into Egypt, laden with the choicest productions of the earth, and with the blessings of the whole race of mankind, who consented to his deification.

BUT when his brother Typhon heard that OSIRIS was now on his Return, he entered into a Conspiracy, with seventy-two persons, exclusive of Asa queen of Ethiopia, to kill him. He found means to have measure taken privately of the body of OSIRIS ; after which he ordered a very magnificent coffin to be made and brought home to him while he was giving an entertainment to his friends. This was done, and his guests failed not to take notice of the coffin, and

to admire it. It was usual for the Egyptians to have this sort of furniture, and indeed to preserve the embalmed bodies of their friends, in their houses. Typhon seemed pleased with the Taste of his guests, and told them, smiling, that the person amongst them, whom it best fitted, was welcome to it. On this, several of the company tried it, but to no purpose. At last OSIRIS went in ; which he had no sooner done, but they shut the lid, and locked the coffin. Then pouring melted lead over it, they conveyed him to the Tanitic mouth of the Nile, and there threw him into the sea. On this account, that entrance of the river was abhorred by the Egyptians. This cruelty was transacted on the seventeenth day of the month Athyr, in which the sun went through the Scorpion, and in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of OSIRIS ; or as some will have it, of his life.

WHEN the Pans and Satyrs told it to the men, they were seized with those sudden consternations which have ever since borne the name of Panic fears. Isis, when she heard it, cut off a lock of her hair, and setting out in deep mourning from the city of Coptus, where she had received the news of this melancholy event, went in quest of the body of her husband. As she went along, she asked all she met, if they had seen the coffin or heard of it. But she enquired in vain, 'till some children, who had seen Typhon's friends carrying it, gave her information. Hence the Egypt-

ians held children to be endued with a predictive faculty, and drew conjectures from what they said while they were playing in the temples. Thus Isis, having found the body, buried it, and by her interest with the Egyptian Priests promoted his deification.

THE following inscription in sacred characters is said to have been found engraven on a pillar in Arabia.

SATURN, THE YOUNGEST OF ALL THE GODS, WAS MY FATHER; I AM OSIRIS, THAT KING WHO LED AN ARMY AS FAR AS THE DESARTS OF INDIA, AND FROM THENCE NORTHWARD AS FAR AS THE SPRINGS-OF THE RIVER ISTER, AND THENCE QUITE TO THE OCEAN. I AM THE ELDEST SON OF SATURN, SPRUNG FROM A NOBLE STOCK, AND OF GENEROUS BLOOD; COUSIN TO THE DAY. NOR IS THERE A PLACE WHERE I HAVE NOT BEEN; I, WHO FREELY DISPENSED MY BENEFITS TO ALL MANKIND.



CHAP. V.
OF SESOSTRIS.

SESOSTRIS is by some thought to have been the son of Amenophis: but, whoever his father was, it is said that the god Vulcan appeared to him in a dream, and admonished him that the son which should be born to him, would be lord of the whole earth. Fraught with this vision, he got together all the males in Egypt born on the same day with his son, and appointed nurses, and proper persons to take care of them, and had them treated in all respects like his own child; being persuaded that they who had been the constant and equal companions of his childhood and youth, would prove the most faithful ministers, and the most serviceable and affectionate fellow-soldiers. They were abundantly furnished with every thing needful; and as they grew up, were by degrees inured to manly and laborious exercises, and were in particular never permitted to taste of any thing, 'till they had performed a course of 180 furlongs, or upwards of twenty-two miles. By this exercise of the body, and a proper cultivation of the mind, they were equally fitted for command and execution.

AMENOPHIS, after he had been at this vast expence and trouble in laying the foundation of his

son's future grandeur, resolved to give him and his companions an opportunity of displaying the good effects of their education. Therefore he sent him and them with an army into Arabia. In this expedition the young SESOSTRIS surmounted all the dangers of serpents and venomous creatures, all the wants and hardships of a dry and barren country ; and in the end subdued those Arabians, who 'till that time had never been conquered. His father then ordered him Westward, and he subdued the greatest part of Africa ; nor did he stop, it seems, his career, 'till he saw the Atlantic ocean.

WHILE SESOSTRIS was on this expedition, his father dyed ; and having now the reins of government in his own hands, and being elated with the success which had hitherto attended him, he grasped at the conquest of the whole earth : or he called to mind the prediction of the god, and prepared for the enterprise. Some say that Athyrte, a young lady of great wit and sagacity, excited him thereto by her counsel, representing it as a matter of little difficulty. Others say, that she obtained assurances of her father's success, by divination, by dreams in temples, and prodigies in the air, and the like. So that according to these, he could be no very young man at the time. Lastly, it was said, that he was instructed by Mercury, who gave him counsels proper for carrying on the war.

HAVING

HAVING in view a general conquest, and knowing that he must be long absent, and far remote from Egypt, he bethought himself by what means he might best retain the hearts and affections of his own people; wisely deeming it the most natural means of preparing those who followed him, to hazard their lives cheerfully in his service; and of preventing those at home from attempting any innovations during his absence. He therefore, as much as was in his power, endeared himself to all his subjects, by largesses in money; by donations in land, and by the remission of punishments. He particularly discharged all those who were guilty of treason, with impunity; and paid the debts of those who were thereby incumbered, of which last he had many in his army. In fine, he wrought upon the minds of all by fair speeches, and a familiar deportment. In the next place he divided the whole kingdom into 36 Nomes, or provinces; assigned a governor to each of them; and constituted his brother Armaïs supreme regent, investing him with ample power; but forbade him the use of the diadem, commanded him to offer no injury to the queen or her children, and to abstain from the royal concubines.

HAVING thus settled the government, he picked out the choicest of his subjects, and lifted an army equal to the vastness of his designs, and bestowed the chief commands in it upon his beloved companions, who were upwards of seventeen hundred in number.

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As an earnest of his benevolence, and besides the favours that he had bestowed on them in common with the rest of their countrymen, and that he and his successors might always have a regular force ready at hand, he settled by lot certain portions of the most fertile land in Egypt upon his whole army. Whence as an handsome and regular subsistence would arise to them, neither they nor their posterity would lie under the necessity of seeking a livelihood by mercantile or mechanic callings, but wholly apply themselves to the military exercise.

HIS army consisted of 600,000 foot, 24,000 horse, and 27,000 warlike chariots. He first marched into Ethiopia, and reduced the inhabitants to a tribute of ebony, gold, and ivory. He is generally believed to have been the first that subdued Ethiopia and Troglo-dytica, and is said to have reached the promontory of Dira, near the freights of the Red Sea, where he set up a column with an inscription in sacred characters. He then proceeded as far as the country where Cinnamon grows, or at least some place from which Cinnamon was usually brought, where he also raised monuments and pillars with inscriptions, which were to be seen many ages after.

HIS land-forces were not of themselves answerable to the greatness of his intentions. Therefore breaking through the ancient superstition of the Egyptians, he was the first of their kings that fitted

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out fleets of tall ships. He had two ; the one of 400 sail, in the Arabian gulf ; if Diodorus is to be credited, who gives us this number, and Herodotus, who mentions the same fleet in general terms ; and the other in the mediterranean sea, if we may believe Manetho, who by Sethosis understands SESOSTRIS. By these naval armaments, and the great services which they are said to have done SESOSTRIS probably wiped away the aversion which the Egyptians had before entertained for maritime affairs ; at least for a time. But he not only instituted the marine class, but (by what appears hitherto) the military order likewise. But not to dwell on this conjecture, we shall only add, that his having consecrated a spacious and magnificent ship to the supreme God of the Thebans, looks as if he was determined to bring navigation into credit with the Egyptians. With the first of these fleets he sailed out of the Arabian gulph into the Red or Indian Sea, and subdued the coasts thereof ; and continuing his course 'till he was stopped by certain shoals, and difficult places, he returned back to Egypt : or according to another Author, he went not on board himself, but sent them out against the islands and maritime places of the continent, as far as India.

WITH his Mediterranean squadron he conquered Cyprus, the sea-coast of Phœnicia, and several of the Cyclades.

As to his farther conquests on the land, it is by almost all antiquity agreed, that he over-ran all Asia, and some part of Europe. He crossed the Ganges, on the banks of which river he erected pillars, as he did on the remotest mountains of India. Indeed he is said to have marched on, 'till he was stopped by the main ocean Eastward. Thence returning, he invaded the Scythians and Thracians. But the Accounts of his war with the former do not all agree in giving him a complete conquest over them. He settled a colony in Colchis. But Herodotus does not decide, whether it was of his own planting, or whether part of his army, tired out, might not loiter in the rear, and voluntarily sit down upon the banks of the Phasis in that kingdom. He says from his own knowledge that the inhabitants were undoubtedly of Egyptian descent, as was visible from the personal similitude which the Colchians bore to the Egyptians, being swarthy and frizzle-hair'd: but more especially from the conformity of their customs, particularly circumcision; and from the affinity of their language to that of Egypt. And many ages afterwards, at Oea, the capital of Colchis, they shewed maps of their journeys, and the bounds of sea and land, for the use of travellers. And hence came Geography. And this relation to each other they mutually acknowledged.

We now attend upon him into Thrace, the utmost boundary of his progress westward in Europe. Here

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he was in danger of losing his army for want of provisions, and through the difficulty of the passes. He therefore here stopped his progress. But the more probable opinion is, that his return was hastened by the advice which he received from the high-priest of Egypt concerning his brother's disobedience and revolt. However this was, his pillars were no where to be seen beyond Thrace. For it was his custom to set pillars up in every country which he conquered, with this inscription, or one to the like effect ; **SESOSTRIS, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS, SUBDUED THIS COUNTRY BY THE POWER OF HIS ARMS.** If the nation had ignobly crouched to him, he, besides the inscription, caused the privities of a woman to be carved, as a mark of their effeminacy and baseness. If they had defended themselves bravely, their pillars bore the distinction of the contrary sex in testimony of their manhood and courage. Besides these, he left statues of himself behind him. Two of which were still to be seen in the time of Herodotus ; the one on the road between Ephesus and Phocæa, and the other between Smyrna and Sardis. They were armed after the Ethiopian and Egyptian manner, were five palms high, and held a javelin in one hand, and a bow in the other. Across the breast they had a line drawn from one shoulder to the other, with this inscription ; **THIS REGION I OBTAINED BY THESE MY SHOULDERS.**

UPON

UPON advice therefore of the rebellious proceedings of his brother, who, encouraged by his long absence and great distance, had assumed the diadem, violated the queen, and taken to himself the royal concubines, he hastened from Thrace, and at the end of nine years came to Pelusium, attended by an infinite number of captives of all nations, and loaden with the spoils of Asia. Here the rebel Armaïs or Danaüs received him with outward submission and joy, but with a private design to take away his life, and root out his family. Accordingly he invited the King his brother, the queen, and her children, to a banquet which he had prepared for their refreshment. They accepted the invitation, drank freely, and being thereby overcome, betook themselves to rest. In the mean time he caused a great quantity of dried reeds to be laid all round the apartment where they slept; and setting fire to them, hoped thereby to accomplish his wicked design. SESOSTRIS, awaking and perceiving the danger, and that his guards, overcharged with liquor, were heavy, and incapable of assisting him, lifted up his hands, and, imploring the gods in behalf of his wife and children, rushed through the flames, and they followed him. In thanksgiving for this wonderful deliverance, and to perform the vows which he had made in his extremity, he presented donations to several gods, and particularly to Vulcan. Herodotus writes, that his wife persuaded him to lay two of his sons across the fire, and to

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tread upon them. He then took revenge on his brother Armaïs, who is said to have been the Danaüs of the Greeks, and, being on this occasion driven out of Egypt, to have withdrawn into Greece.

SESOSTRIS, having thus defeated his brother's unnatural designs, and seeing himself again in the quiet possession of his kingdom, adorned all the temples with rich spoils and gifts, and rewarded his army in proportion to every man's merit. This army was not only glorious in its return for the actions which they had performed, and the great riches which they had acquired, but also for the great variety of foreign commodities, which they brought home with them, and with which they stored the kingdom.

Now laying aside all thoughts of war, he disbanded his forces, leaving every one to the undisturbed enjoyment of what fortune had favoured him with. As for himself, he henceforward applied his mind to such stupenduous works as might immortalize his name, and everlastingly contribute to the public good.

HIS Works were of three sorts ; religious, military, and civil. And first, he erected a temple in every city in Egypt, which he dedicated to the peculiar and supreme Deity of the place. In the

course of so universal an undertaking as this, no Egyptian was set to work. Wherefore upon all these temples there was this inscription; No ONE NATIVE LABOURED HEREON. In the city of Memphis, before the Temple of Vulcan, he raised six gigantic statues, which were each of one stone. Two of them were thirty cubits high, and represented himself and his wife; the other four were twenty cubits, and represented his four sons; these he dedicated to Vulcan, in remembrance of his own and his family's preservation at Pelusium. Many ages afterwards it was said, that Darius would have placed his own statue above this of SESOSTRIS: but the priest of Vulcan stiffly opposed it, arguing, that the Persian, tho' great, had not yet equalled the Egyptian; and particularly had never conquered Scythia; and that therefore it was unjust to prefer him to one whom he had not yet excelled. This put a stop to the attempt. He moreover raised two obelisks of marble, 120 cubits high; and charged them with inscriptions, which described the greatness of his power, the amount of his revenues, and the nations which he conquered. These were his works; which may be said particularly to commemorate his own piety and glory. Let us now take a view of what he did for the benefit and lasting welfare of his people.

SESOSTRIS.

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IN order to prevent the incursions of the Syrians and Arabians, he fortified the east side of Egypt with a wall, which ran from Pelusium through the deserts to Heliopolis, 1500 furlongs, or 187 miles and a half. He also raised an incredible number of vast and lofty mounts of earth, to which he removed such towns as had before too low a situation, to secure the men and cattle from the danger of the Nile in its inundations. All the way from Memphis to the sea, he dug canals, which branched out from the Nile, and not only gave an easier communication from one place to another, and greatly advanced the trade and prosperity of the kingdom; but also rendered the country impassable to an enemy, or at least, very inconvenient and difficult. So that Egypt, which had hitherto been famous for her horses and chariots, and was admirably well adapted for either, was now no longer the same place in those respects, and put on a new face. This looks as if SESOSTRIS feared that the several nations, which he had disturbed, or at least, some of them, might unite against Egypt. Yet quite the reverse appears, by his haughty carriage to the tributaries, 'till he was reclaimed by his own good sense in this respect. In the mean time, it is said that some of the captives grew desperate under the intolerable slavery imposed upon them; and that particularly the Babylonians arose, and resolved at all hazards to shake

off their bondage. They first seized upon a strong hold, and acting offensively against the Egyptians, wasted the country round about them. But, on the offer of pardon and a place to dwell in, they were pacified and built themselves a city, which they called Babylon. The like was said of the Trojan captives.

His behaviour towards the conquered princes, who waited upon him with their tribute, was for a time remarkably insolent. For, upon certain occasions, he is said to have unharnessed his horses, and yoking kings together to have made them draw his chariot. Dr. Young in his *Satyrs* prettily alludes to this, where speaking of a fair lady, proud of driving her own chariot, he says,

More than one steed must Delia's empire feel,
 Who sits triumphant o'er the flying wheel ;
 And as she guides it through th' admiring throng,
 With what an air she smacks the filken thong !
 Graceful as *John*, she moderates the reins,
 And whistles sweet in diuretic strains ;
 SESOSTRIS-like, such charioteers as these,
 May drive six harness'd monarchs, if they please.

THIS insolent practice was continued, as is said, by SESOSTRIS 'till a certain day, when observing one of the kings, who drew him along, to look with
 great

great steadfastness back upon one of the wheels as it turned, he asked him, "What took up his thoughts, that he kept his eye so fixed on that object." The captive prince answered, "O king, the going round of the wheel calls to my mind the vicissitudes of fortune; for as every part of the wheel is uppermost and lowermost by turns, so it is with men; who one day sit on a throne, and on the next are reduced to the vilest degree of slavery." This answer awakened reflection, and brought the insulting conqueror to his senses. He instantly gave over the practice, and from that time forward treated his captives with great humanity.

THAT NOTHING might be wanting to make the reign of this conqueror completely glorious, it was reported that the Phoenix came to Thebes in his time. However that be, he was the first who divided Egypt into Nomes, and its inhabitants into orders and classes; and the first who parcelled out the lands, reserving to himself a small rent out of them. And whenever it happened that the waters of the Nile, in their retreat, washed away any part of a person's ground, such person gave information to the king, who remitted a proportionable part of the rent, and by sending surveyors to measure it, gave rise to the invention of Geometry. He was the first Egyptian king who was considerable at sea, and erected the first great empire in the world. Justin indeed from
Trogus

Trogus says, that he neither aimed at it, nor kept it; being contented with the bare glory of the conquest that he made. But few are of this Opinion.

How this conqueror came by his end is not certainly known. That he did not dye a natural death is pretty well agreed on all hands. Some say that at length he lost his sight, and laid violent hands on himself. But whatever was the manner of it, it was extolled by the priests into the highest act of magnanimity.

AN opinion has been advanced concerning this prince, which we must mention because of its singularity. It was set on foot by Mr. Whiston, who judges that this king was the very Pharaoh who perished in the Red Sea, in his pursuit of the Israelites, and the very Typhon of the Mythologists. He says that Harmesses Mi-Amoun, or Ramestes the great, the grandfather of SESOSTRIS, was king of the lower Egypt when Moses was born: that Amenophis III. his son, was there king after him during Moses' youth; and Sethos, or Sethosis, or SESOSTRIS *the great*, the son of Aménophis III. was so, during the rest of the servitude of the children of Israel in Egypt. He says that the preservation of Moses, and his Education by Pharaoh's daughter, are very agreeable to what her brother Amenophis III. did, about, or soon after the birth of Moses; when he
called

called together and educated with his son SESOSTRIS all the male children that were born in Egypt the same day with him: which might well be in imitation of Thermutis, the daughter of Ramestes, when she drew Moses out of the river, and educated him for her own son. And if Thermutis may be allowed as sagacious and learned as her great niece Athyrtes, the daughter of SESOSTRIS was, we shall have no reason to wonder that Moses *was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and mighty in words and in deeds*; even before he received any particular commission for the delivery of his people. Indeed, these last words concerning Moses, that he was so early *mighty in words and deeds*, seem to confirm those accounts which we have in Artapanus an heathen, and Josephus the Jew, concerning the wise and valiant conduct of Moses, under the king of Egypt, when he was young, against the Ethiopians; who attempted the conquest of that country at that time, which successes of these Egyptians under the conduct of Moses, might probably encourage SESOSTRIS to undertake those other vast expeditions which raised the Egyptian monarchy, and spread his empire over almost all the then known world. Nor is it improbable, that the Ethiopic war, which is known to have been undertaken both by sea and land by this SESOSTRIS, might be when he was very young; and might be that very Ethiopic war which was managed by Moses under the king of Egypt, as mentioned by Artapanus and Josephus.

THERE

THERE are, says he, evident remains of this SESOSTRIS perishing in or near the Red Sea. Diodorus assures us that SESOSTRIS at last became blind, and that so he was voluntarily the occasion of his own death; and that he deservedly obtained the admiration of the priests and people of Egypt, on account of his magnanimous death. But what sort of voluntary and magnanimous death this was, it seems the Priests did not inform him. But if we consider that the Egyptian name of SESOSTRIS was Sethos or Sethosis, and that there was an ancient famous Egyptian king, whose fictitious name amongst the Greeks was Typhon, *the proud*, but whose real name was no other than Seth, as Plutarch himself, a great master of Egyptian learning, informs us; that Typhon's own city Pelusium was peculiarly the city of SESOSTRIS, and where he and his queen received a sort of miraculous deliverance, and was by the Egyptians called Seth-ron; and the Nomes thereto belonging called the Sethroite Nome; we shall find that what the Egyptians could not, or would not, directly inform Diodorus of in the way of plain historical fact, was yet preserved in memory by some of those Egyptians under another form; and that this Seth, or Sethos, or Typhon, came to the same end that Pharaoh did, and was drowned in or near the Red Sea. For as they long kept the memory of Osiris, the usual name of any beloved king of Egypt that was murdered; as was Isis the
usual

usual name of such a king's wife or queen ; and Typhon the usual name of such a murderer ; so it was here. Osiris seems to have been some beloved king that SESOSTRIS had slain (perhaps his own brother Ramaffes), and himself seems thence to have had the hateful name of Typhon given him. And certainly this name, signifying *the proud*, was never more fitly applied, than to this SESOSTRIS, who yoked kings in his chariot. And as to the death of this Typhon, the Egyptian Records assure us, that *he was struck by a thunder-bolt, and his blood ran out at Heroopolis*. Now this city was very near the place where the Israelites entered the Red Sea ; and the same, I suppose, which Moses calls by its elder name Baalzephon : the same city was called Blood, or the Bloody City, from that *first shedding of the blood of Typhon there*, and that *he lies drowned under the waters of the lake Sirbon*, which is not far from the Red Sea, and was anciently supposed to communicate therewith. The city also itself seems to me to have its later name of Heroopolis, or The City of Heroes, on this very account, that near thereto the most potent Egyptian king, and his mighty commanders, with their entire army, those great heroes, became martyrs for the Egyptian idols, idolatry and tyranny, in opposition to the God of Israel and his people. And with respect to the thunder and lightening which is said to have attended the drowning of SESOSTRIS, Mr. Whitton observes that this circumstance also

corresponds

corresponds with the death of Pharaoh. For God *looked through the pillar of fire and of the cloud, and so troubled the host of the Egyptians, that their chariot-wheels were taken off, and they drove heavily; and the Egyptians resolved to flee from the face of Israel, because they now perceived that God himself fought for them against the Egyptians, while with the blast of his nostrils the waters were gathered together; as is directly set down by Josephus and Artapanus in the history itself; and also by the Psalmist in his celebration of this most wonderful deliverance and judgment, who declares that, besides the pouring out of the water from the clouds at that time, the skies then sent out a sound, and God's arrows went abroad, that the voice of his thunder was in the heaven; and the lightnings lighted the world; and the earth trembled and shook; in exact agreement with the Heathens' account of the destruction of Typhon.*



C H A P. VI. OF M I N O S.

THE MINOS, whom we are now to speak of, was the father of Deucalion the Argonaut, the grandfather of Idomeneus, and contemporary with Ægeus, king of Athens. He was king of Crete, and the first of the Grecians who equipped a fleet, and gained the dominion of the sea. He married Pasiphæe, the daughter of Sol and Cretes,
and

and had by her, besides Deucalion, Astræa, Androgeus, Ariadne, and several other children. It happened unfortunately, that when Androgeus was grown up, he went to Athens to be present at one of their feasts, and contracted such an intimacy with the fifty sons of Pallas, that Ægeus, the jealous old king of that state, fearing some fatal consequence from it, caused that prince to be privately murdered. Others say, that the young prince, having undertaken to encounter the Marathonian bull, was killed by it. However that be, MINOS, having received the news of his son's death, and made several vain attempts to revenge it on the Athenians, prayed to the Gods to do it for him. Upon this the Athenians were punished with pestilence, famine, and several other plagues: and were told by the Oracle, that they must expect no relief, 'till they were reconciled to the Cretan king. MINOS, resolved to make them pay dear for their deliverance, imposed a yearly tribute of seven young men, and as many young virgins, whom he condemned to be devoured by the Minotaur. This continued for the space of seven, others say, of nine years. These unhappy victims were to be drawn by lot; and what heightened the people's murmurs was that Ægeus, the cause of these misfortunes, being childless, was the only person exempt from the punishment.

THUS

Thus the fabulous Greeks have made up the latter part of the story; their poets feigning the Minotaur to have been half a man and half a bull, and begotten by a bull upon Pasiphæe, the queen of Minos; and who, as soon as born, was by the king's Order, thrown into a labyrinth, and fed with human flesh. But the matter of fact is, that this Minotaur was no other than a meer man, tho' of great strength and ferocity, and who on that account was, surnamed Taurus, or the Bull. He was in great power at the Cretan court, for his constant victories at the games instituted by Minos in memory of his son. On account of his fierce and cruel disposition, all the Athenian captives were given to him by that exasperated prince, to be used with uncommon severity. For we are told, that he was grown to such an height of insolence and cruelty, that at length he became odious to the whole kingdom, and to the king himself, upon his being suspected to have too great a familiarity with the queen. He was afterwards slain by Theseus, who abolished this shameful tribute; as will hereafter be more fully related in our account of that hero.

In the mean time Pasiphæe was brought to bed of two twin brothers, in the house of Dædalus, where her criminal conversation with Taurus had been carried on. One of them resembled Minos, and the other Taurus; and it was this circumstance
indeed

indeed which afterwards gave birth to the fable of the Minotaur.

MINOS, highly incensed against Dædalus, for being assistant to his queen in her unlawful amours, and hearing that he was fled into Sicily, and there entertained by Cocalus the king of the Siculi, proclaimed war against that island. He fitted out a mighty fleet, and setting sail, arrived on the coast of Agrigentum. The place, where he landed his men, was from him called Minoa; which name it retained to the time of Diodorus the historian.

MINOS, on his arrival sent ambassadors to Cocalus, intreating him to deliver up Dædalus to justice, rather than to draw a war upon himself and his country. Hereupon the two kings came to an interview; wherein Cocalus promised to do all that the other required of him. The Cretan monarch, trusting the fair promises of this deceitful prince, was prevailed upon to go to his house without guards, where he was privately stifled in a bath. Cocalus delivered his body to the Cretans, giving out, that his death had been occasioned by his slipping accidentally into the hot and scalding baths. His soldiers buried him with great pomp, and erected a magnificent monument to his memory, building near it a temple in honor of Venus, which was much resorted to for many ages.

BUT nothing is so remarkable in the life of MINOS, as the many excellent laws which he formed ; for the integrity of which, he justly claims a place in the first rank of ancient heroes ; and on account of which he was feigned by the Mythologists to have been one of the dispensers of justice in the infernal regions.

THE main scope which MINOS aimed at in the forming of his laws, was to procure happiness for his subjects by rendering them virtuous. To attain this end he first banished idleness and luxury, the sources of all vice, from his dominions. He found means to keep all his subjects employed either at home or abroad, not suffering any, however distinguished above the rest, to lead an idle and indolent life ; but obliging them either to serve in the army, or to apply themselves to agriculture, which he brought into great reputation. In order to establish a lasting friendship, by a kind of equality, amongst his subjects, he decreed, that in each city, the children should be brought up together, and early taught the same exercises, arts, and maxims. They were accustomed, from their tender years, to bear hunger and thirst, to suffer heat and cold, to walk over steep and rugged places, to skirmish with each other in small parties, and to exercise themselves in a kind of dance with their armour, which was afterwards called the Pyrrhic.

As Crete was a mountainous and uneven country, the youth were not taught here, as elsewhere, to ride, or wear heavy armour, but to use the bow dextrously. And in this, they far excelled all other nations in the world.

ONE of MINOS' institutions, which Aristotle greatly admires, was, that all his subjects should use the same diet, and frequently take their repasts together, without any distinction between the poor and rich. This introduced a kind of equality also amongst all ranks of people, accustomed them to a frugal and sober life, and further cemented friendship and unity between them, by the usual gaiety and mirth of the table. The public defrayed the charge of these meals; one part of the revenues of the state being applied to the uses of religion, and the salaries of the magistrates, and the rest allotted for the public meals. After their repast, the old men discoursed of the actions and virtues of their ancestors, and of such as had distinguished themselves, either by their valour in war, or their wisdom in peace. And the youth who were present at these entertainments, were exhorted to propose these great persons to themselves, as models for the forming of their own manners, and the regulation of their conduct.

ANOTHER of the institutions of MINOS, and which Plato admires the most, was, to inspire the youth

youth early with an high respect for the maxims, customs, and laws of their own country, not suffering them to dispute or call in question the wisdom of their constitution; but commanding them to look upon their laws as dictated by the Gods themselves. He had the same regard to the magistrates and aged persons, whom he enjoined every one to honour in a peculiar manner. And that nothing might lessen the respect due to age, he ordained, that if any defects were observed in them, they should never be mentioned in the presence of the youth.

A custom established by MINOS in Crete, and in after-ages adopted by the Romans, gives us reason to believe that even the slaves were better treated in Crete, than any where else. For in the feasts of Mercury, the masters waited on their slaves at table, and performed about them the same offices, which they received from them the rest of the year. This was to put men in mind of the primitive world, in which all men were equal, and to signify to the masters, that their servants were of the same nature with themselves.

THE laws of MINOS were anciently in so great repute, that Lycurgus passed a considerable time in Crete, employing himself in the study of the Cretan constitution, and forming his laws upon the model of those which then obtained in that island. Plato
tells

tells us that Crete, under the government of so wise a prince, became the abode of Virtue, Probity and Justice ; and that the laws which he established, were so well founded in Justice and Equity, that they subsisted in their full vigour even in his time, that was, above nine hundred years after their first publication.



C H A P. VII.

O F J A S O N.

ÆSON, the king of Thessaly, and the third in descent from Æolus, being either worn out with age, or weary of government, while his son JASON, whom he had by Polymela, or, according to others, by Alcimede, was yet very young, appointed Pelias, his brother by the mother's side, guardian of the kingdom 'till his son came of age. On the other hand, Pelias, who had resolved to secure the government to himself, sent to consult the oracle about it. The answer was, that he should beware of the man who had but one shoe. It happened some time after, that as he was sacrificing to Neptune, he called his nephew to him, who was on the other side of a rivulet, and JASON making more haste than good speed to cross the brook, dropped one of his shoes, and gave him occasion to think that he was the person pointed at by the Oracle. He then asked him what

course he would take with the person, of whom the Oracle had cautioned him to beware. JASON readily answered, that he would send him to Colchis in search of the Golden Fleece.

THIS fabulous Fleece was then in the possession of Æetis, king of Colchis, a country lying between the Euxine sea and Iberia, and now called Mengrelia. The real truth is, that the value of the royal treasury at Colchis had been greatly cried up; and, as amongst the Greeks, every expedition against Barbarians was accounted lawful and glorious, the pillage of it was the thing aimed at by the Argonautic expedition. The word *Gaza* in the Colchian language (the same, according to Herodotus, with the Egyptian) signifying *a fleece*, as well as *a treasure*. This gave occasion to the circumstance of the Golden Fleece. The word *for* also signifies both *a wall* and *a bull*; and the word *nachash* both *brass* and *a serpent*: so this treasure being secured by *a double wall* and *brazen doors*, the Greeks formed hence the romantic story of its being guarded by *two bulls* and *a dragon*. But it must be farther remarked, that the Mariner's Compass was indeed a part, if not the whole of this treasure, and was itself at that time of day, a curiosity of infinite value. This was (as we have observed in the life of the Tyrian Hercules) the horned Jupiter Ammon of Libya. This was the Golden Ram obtained from Mercury, the god of trade and merchandize, which carried Phrixus through

through the Straights of the Hellespont, and thence to Colchis ; where being hospitably entertained by the king, he offered it up to Jupiter.

UPON the answer already said to have been given by JASON to his uncle, Pelias took him at his word, and sent him immediately upon that enterprize. The young hero made no difficulty to obey, and having engaged a considerable number of young noblemen, the flower of all Greece, in the expedition, he procured a ship to be built for this purpose at Pegasa, by one Argus, from whom the ship was also called Argos, and the gallant company, who sailed in it, Argonauts.

THIS company is said by some to have amounted to forty nine persons in number ; and by others, to more. The principal of them under this commander were Ancæus, Idmon, Orpheus, Augias, Calais, Zethus, Castor, Pollux, Hercules the Theban : Tiphys was their Pilot ; and Linceus, remarkable for his quick sight, was their Look-out in case of danger.

THE first place, which these adventurers touched at was the island of Lemnos in the Ægean sea, inhabited then by female warriors, who, tho' they had killed their husbands in order to lead an Amazonian life, yet were so charmed with these brave youths, that they took them to their beds. They sailed next to the country of the Deliones, where they were kindly received.

ceived by their king Cyzicus ; but loosing from thence in the night, and being driven back by contrary winds, they were mistaken for Pelasgians, with whom they were then at war. A fierce engagement ensued, in which Cyzicus, and a great number of his men, were killed upon the spot. The return of day-light having discovered the unhappy mistake, they only stayed to bury the dead, and sailed to Myfia, a country in Asia minor, near the Hellespont.

HERE Hercules, who plyed his oar with more might than skill, broke it ; and while he was gone into the wood to cut himself a new one, Hylas, his beloved boy, was stolen by a Nymph, as he was drinking at a fountain ; so that while he, and his brother-in-law's son, Polyphemus, went in search of him, the Argonauts left them behind, and sailed into Bithynia.

HERE Amicus, the son of Neptune, king of the country, a man of prodigious strength, having obliged them, as he did all strange comers, to fight with him at Hurlebats, was killed by Pollux. The Berbraces, seeing their king fallen, would soon have revenged his death on the conqueror, had not his brave companions rescued him from the danger ; after which they sailed immediately to Salmydessus, a city in Thrace, where they consulted the famous blind sooth-sayer Phinæus concerning the success of their expedition.

THIS person is said to have been continually infested with Harpies, a monstrous kind of bird, with faces resembling those of women, and foul long claws, who devoured one part of his provisions, and poisoned the rest with the stench which they left upon it. He promised to direct them safely to Colchis, provided they would rid him of that infectious vermin, which they accordingly did. He then, among other directions, cautioned them to beware of the Simplegades, two rocks, or, according to others, two islands about half a league from the Straights of Bosphorus, and so near together, that at a distance they seem'd to run against each other, and which, the poets say, were often pushed so close by the force of the winds, that they shut up the passage. He therefore advised them to let a pigeon through it, and not to attempt the Straight, unless they saw him get safe to the other side. They followed his advice with some success, the pigeon having lost only one part of his tail, and the ship received a small bruise on its hinder part. All this implies no more than that the passage was extremely narrow and dangerous.

FROM this Straight they sailed to the mouth of the river Parthenius, and were honorably received by Lycus, king of that country. Here Idmon, the son of Apollo and Asteria, and a soothsayer of their company, was killed by a wild boar. Typhis their pilot also dyed here, and was succeeded by Ancæus. At length

length, having crossed the river Thermodon, and mount Caucasus, they arrived safe at Colchis, the place of their destination, where the Golden Fleece was kept.

THEY went immediately to the metropolis, where JASON acquainted Æetes with the command of Pelias, and demanded the Fleece of him. The King promised to deliver it him, provided he could yoke together, by his own single strength, two fierce and terrible bulls (which had brazen hoofs, and breathed out fire and flame) presented to him by Vulcan, and plow the ground with them, sowing it with the dragon's teeth which Minerva had given to him; and which were the remainder of those which Cadmus had sown at Thebes.

JASON, perplexed how to perform these conditions, was happily relieved by Medea, the king's daughter. She promised, that if he would marry her, she would assist him in it, and he had no sooner agreed to it, than she gave him a medicine, with which having anointed his body and armour, he became proof against the violence of the bulls; or, according to others, she taught him how to tame those fierce creatures, so as to be able to yoke and make use of them. She told him moreover, that the teeth which he was to sow would presently spring up into armed men, who would infallibly destroy him, un-

less

lets he raised an immediate diffension among them, by throwing stones at them, during which he might easily cut them off. JASON, having successfully performed the task, went and demanded the Fleece, according to the promise of Æetes.

THE country of Colchis abounded with medicinal drugs and plants, and with many also that were noxious. Medea, the king's daughter, was very learned for the age in which she lived, and had been particularly instructed in the knowledge of Botany, and the method of preparing simples. And hence the poets have thought fit to turn this princess into an enchantress.

THE king gave very little heed to the representations of JASON, when he told him his success, and claimed his promise; and was so far indeed from intending to perform it, that he was now contriving how to destroy both him and his company, and to burn the ship.

To prevent this mischief, Medea, by her skill in drugs, cast the person to whose care the fleece had been committed, into a deep sleep, during which she stole this inestimable treasure, and brought it to her lover, who took her, and at her desire, her brother Absyrtus, into his ship, and sailed away immediately with his companions.

ÆETES,

ÆETES, who was soon informed of his daughter's treachery, presently pursued them; which when Medea perceived, she is said to have cut her brother in pieces, and to have scattered his mangled limbs about, in order to stop the farther pursuit, as it effectually did. For the disconsolate king, surprised at her unnatural barbarity, stayed to collect the dispersed fragments of his son's body, and buried them in a place called Tomi. In the mean time she and the Argonauts escaped into Thessaly; tho' not without having first felt the effects of the divine anger for that barbarous fratricide. And four whole months were spent in the expedition.

During the absence of JASON, Pelias, who never expected hisⁿ return from Colchis, had taken some means to cut off his father, in order to fix the crown upon himself and his son Acastus: and the old king being apprized of his plots, had poisoned himself by drinking a draught of bull's blood. His queen likewise oppressed with grief for his death, and the supposed loss of her son and kingdom, in a fit of despair had hanged herself. So that Pelias now thought himself secure on his throne, when, contrary to his expectation, JASON returned successful and victorious, and brought the Fleece to him. However, he had so well strengthened himself in it, that JASON, brave and well-accompanied as he was, did not dare to undertake any thing against him openly. But Medea possessed

possessed his daughters with so profound an admiration of her knowledge, that at last she persuaded them to boil their old father, on pretence that by her skill in herbs, she would restore him to life and youthful vigour.

ON the death of his father Pelias, Acastus mounted the throne, and having performed the funeral obsequies, banished JASON and his wife from Thessaly, who went and dwelt at Corinth.

ACASTUS is famed for having been a great hunter, and much spoken of for the inconstancy of his wife Hyppolyta, or, as she is called by others, Cretheïs; which proved fatal to him. She was in Love with Peleus, the son of Caeus, and had solicited him in vain for some time, 'till at length, enraged at his constant Refusal, she accused him to her husband of having made attempts upon her honor. Acastus, believing her, and endeavouring to kill Peleus, was himself, together with his unchaste wife, slain by him.

IN the mean time Creon, king of Corinth, had hospitably received JASON and MEDEA in their exile. Here they lived quietly enough for ten years. At the end of which time the Corinthian monarch concluded a treaty of marriage between JASON and his daughter Glauce. The high spirit of the slighted

Medea was so inflamed at this, that she set fire to the palace, murdered all the children that she had by JASON, and fled to Athens. Pausanias adds that Creon (who was also called Glaucus) having assisted at the funeral Games, which Acastus had instituted in memory of his father, was trampled to death by his own horses, and that Glaucus flung herself into a fountain, which was afterwards called by her name. Creon is commonly supposed to have been the instructor of the Isthmian games.

BUT by others the event of this affair is related somewhat differently. They say that Medea seemingly approved the match between JASON and Glaucus or Creusa; but at the same time meditated a severe revenge: that she made the bride a present of a robe and a crown tinged in Naptha, which, in the midst of their rejoicings and illuminations, set fire to the palace, and consumed both it and her; and that Creon and JASON also perished in the flames.



C H A P. VIII. O F T H E S E U S.

ÆGEUS, king of Athens, when he came to his crown, finding himself in disrepute with his subjects, because he could get no children by his wives; and being sometimes insulted by his brother
Pallas,

Pallas, who by that time had got no fewer than fifty sons, surnamed from him Pallantidæ, besides daughters; went to consult the Delphic Oracle, and was answered that he must forbear the use of women 'till his return into Athens. This puzzling answer obliged him to apply himself to Pittheus, king of Troezen, who was then famed for his extraordinary wisdom and skill in expounding Oracles. This prince easily prevailed with Ægeus to lie with his daughter Æthra, whom he got with child. As none but these three were privy to the secret, Ægeus, before his return to Athens, hid a sword and a pair of shoes, under a stone long enough to cover them, and left orders with the princess, that if the child proved a boy, she should send him to Athens with those tokens, as soon as he was able to lift up the stone. He charged her moreover to use all imaginable secrecy, lest the sons of his brother Pallas, getting knowledge of it, should way-lay and murder him on his journey towards Athens.

ÆTHRA being soon after delivered of a son, Pittheus gave out that Neptune was the father of it; and when he came to be sixteen years of age, she brought him to the stone, which she saw him lift up with ease, upon which she discovered to him the whole secret of his parentage, bade him take up the sword and shoes, and prepare himself to go to his father. Both she and Pittheus however advised him to go by

sea, alledging, that since the departure of Hercules who had been the great scourge of robbers and banditti, the roads were again so infested with them, that it was extremely hazardous to travel by land. THESEUS, for this was the young prince's name, who had by that time given uncommon testimonies of courage and strength, no sooner heard Hercules named on such an occasion, than he was fired with a desire of imitating the example. So that all their entreaties could not dissuade him from taking his journey by land. In the course of which he met with various adventures.

HIS first encounter, after he left Troezen, was with Periphetes, the son of Vulcan, surnamed also Corynetes, or the club-bearer, from the club that he used to fight with. Him he slew in combat, and afterwards carried his club with him. The next that he overcame was Sinnis, the son of Polyphemon, surnamed Pityocampes, from his bending the heads of two tall pines, and tying passengers between the opposite branches, which by their sudden return tore them in pieces. Him THESEUS conquered and put to the same death.

HIS next exploit was killing the fierce Cromyonian sow, called Phœa, which is supposed to have been a female robber of that name, infamous for her thefts, murders and lewdness.

SCIRON,

SCIRON, an infamous robber, who used to throw passengers down a steep rock, after he had made them wash his feet, fell the next victim to the valour of this young hero. Having next signalized himself in the Elufian Games by killing Cercyon a famous Arcadian wrestler; he went to Termione, where he killed Damastes, otherwise called Procrustes, by distending his limbs to the length of his bed, as himself used to do to those who unhappily fell into his hands.

LASTLY, he went and fetched the famous bull of Marathon, and brought him alive to Athens, where he sacrificed him to Apollo.

BUT while THESEUS was still in Troezen, his father laboured under no small perplexity from his subjects and his haughty brother; and an accident happened which had almost brought him to despair. This was the death of Androgeus, and the subsequent surrender of seven young men, and as many virgins yearly to the vengeance of the Cretan king, as has been already related in the history of Minos.

ATHENS had for some years paid this shameful tribute, when THESEUS having performed all the glorious exploits abovementioned, was arrived at his father's capital. The unfortunate king, who a few years before had received into his court the famous

Medea in her flight from Corinth, and had been deluded with hopes that she would renew his age, and make him capable of getting children; had by that time been also prevailed upon to marry her. THESEUS, whose birth was a secret to every one there, was yet discovered by Medea, who conceived such jealousy of him, by reason of his noble exploits, that she really filled her weak husband with fears, and persuaded him to invite the young stranger to court, and to poison him in a glass of wine. But as soon as they were sat at table, THESEUS, willing to give his father an agreeable surprize, luckily drew his sword, as if he intended to help himself with it; which the old king no sooner saw, than he hastened to throw down the poisoned draught, and embracing his son, owned him as such before all the court. This declaration, and the known valour of THESEUS, did so quash the sanguine hopes of Pallas and his sons, that they broke out into open rebellion, but were soon after discomfited by him.

AFTER this, THESEUS, who resolved at any rate to deliver his paternal country from the infamous Cretan tribute, having encouraged his old father with hopes of success, went and willingly offered himself to be one of the unhappy number, and embarking with them in one ship, he gave the pilot two sails, the one black to sail by, and the other white, to be hoisted at his return, in case he came off victorious.

AT

AT their arrival in Crete, he offered himself to Minos, and demanded the liberty of fighting his champion Taurus in single combat; which the king did the more readily grant, because he had some just reason to suspect that his queen, a lady of no singular chastity, had some criminal commerce with him. This was all that THESEUS wanted; and he had all the success that he could wish. He killed his enemy, released all the Athenian captives, and prevailed upon Minos to remit the tribute.

ARIADNE, the daughter of Minos, having been an eye-witness of the valour and address of THESEUS in the fight, conceived such a passion for him, that she resolved to run away with him. He left her however in the isle of Naxos. Some add, that after the conquest of Taurus, Minos fell in love with Peribea, one of the seven virgins that THESEUS had brought with him, and would have detained her. THESEUS strenuously opposed it, which so exasperated the Cretan king, that, among other ill language, he told him that he was not the son of Neptune, unless he would fetch his ring, which he then flung into the sea. THESEUS immediately plunged after it, and brought it up. But still Minos would not be pacified without Peribea, and THESEUS, still persisting in his denial, was by the royal order cast into the Labyrinth. But he stay'd not long there, before Ariadne helped him to a clue, by means of which he extricated himself and set sail
for

for Athens, leaving Ariadne at the island above-mentioned.

THIS whole story is finely described by Virgil, as figured on the entrance of Diana's temple; tho' with all the air of the Greek fable;

The train with reverence enter, and behold
 Chaste Triva's grove, and temple roof'd with gold;
 A structure rais'd by Dædalus ('tis said)
 When from the Cretan king's revenge he fled:
 On wings to northern climes he dar'd to soar,
 Through æery ways unknown to man before.
 Full many a length of sky and ocean past,
 On Cumæ's sacred Tow'rs he stoop'd at last;
 Then hung to Phœbus, in the strange abode,
 The wings that steer'd him through the liquid road }
 And rais'd the pompous pile in honor of the god. }
 The matchless artist, on the lofty gate,
 Engrav'd Androgeos' memorable fate:
 And here by lot sad Athens yearly paid
 Seven hapless youths, to soothe his angry shade:
 Here stood the fatal urn: and there with pride
 Fair Crete rose tow'ring on the silver tide.
 There too, the father of the herds was seen,
 Who quench'd the passion of the lustful queen;
 Their birth, a man below, a beast above,
 The mingled offspring of prepos'rous love!
 There stood the winding pile, whose mazes ran
 Round within round, and end where they began.

But

But when the pity'ng Dædalus survey'd
The hopeless passion of the royal maid,
He led her THESEUS through the puzzling ways,
Safe with a clue, and open'd ev'ry maze.

P I T T.

UNFORTUNATELY for THESEUS and his company, as well as for his father Ægeus; their extraordinary joy for their success, made them forget to display the white flag in token of victory, as had been agreed. The old king, who went from time to time to the top of an high rock to look out for the ship, at last observ'd it afar off, but still shewing fable colours. Not doubting then but that his son, like the rest, had been detained in cruel slavery, in a fit of sudden despair he threw himself into the sea, which was afterwards from him called the Ægean sea. So that when THESEUS landed at Athens, he found the city divided between grief for his old father's death, and joy for the safe return of his valiant son and Successor. Ægeus had reigned forty years.

THESEUS was of too active and warlike a temper, and too fond of imitating Hercules, to spend his time in the civil affairs of his kingdom. So that he began, upon his accession, to consider how best to divest himself of that care, that he might with freedom indulge his military genius. To this end he began with gathering all the people of Attica into the
old

old and new town, which he incorporated into one city. After this, he gave up all his regal power, except only the title of king, the command of the army, and the guardianship of the laws. The rest he committed to proper magistrates, chosen out of three different orders of the people, which he divided into nobles, husbandmen, and artificers. The nobility had the power of interpreting and executing the laws, and regulated all things relating to religion. The other two chose their inferior magistrates from among themselves, to take care of whatever related to their separate orders. So that the kingdom was in some measure reduced to a commonwealth, in which the king had the greatest power and security; the nobles were next to him in honor and authority; the husbandmen had the greatest profit; and the artists exceeded the rest in number.

IN memory of this new regulation, he is affirmed to have instituted, or rather to have revived the festival called Panathenœa, in honor of Minerva from whose name (*Athenæ*) the city was called; likewise that called Metoecia, for those who were inhabitants, but not free denizens, of the city; besides the famous Isthmian games, in honor of Neptune, and which were so called from the Isthmus of Corinth, where they were celebrated. All these were chiefly designed to draw a concourse of strangers thither; and as a farther encouragement for them to come and settle there, he endowed them with special privileges.

HE abolished all distinct courts of judicature, and built one common-council hall, called the Prytaneum, a sumptuous building which stood for many ages.

AT this time the Athenian money was stamped with the figure of an ox. This coin was supposed to have had that figure, either in memory of THESEUS' killing the bull of Marathon, or Taurus; or perhaps to recommend Agriculture to the people, to which employment that animal is most subservient; or it may be that the coin so stamped pass'd current for the value of a good ox. One of these coins is now in the very curious collection of the right honorable the Earl of Pembroke.

AFTER THESEUS had thus new-modelled the government, his next care was to join the kingdom of Megara to his own, in right of his grandfather Pandion the second, who had succeeded Pylas. It was then that he erected that famous pillar in the Isthmus, which shewed the limits of the two countries that met there, and which had this inscription on the one side, THIS IS NOT PELOPONNESUS BUT IONIA; and on the other, THIS IS PELOPONNESUS, NOT IONIA.

HIS first expedition abroad was only undertaken in favour of Hercules, whose companion in all such exploits THESEUS ever affected to be. However,
this

this gave occasion to a second expedition, in which it is said that the Amazons made a descent upon Attica, having with them, besides their own forces, a powerful supply of horsemen obtained from Segillus, king of Scythia, with his son Parasagorus at their head. But the Scythian prince, upon some misunderstanding, withdrew his troops. Others say, that THESEUS went and attacked them near the Caspian sea. But all agree that he gained the victory over them, and that he took prisoner the queen Hippolyte, whom he afterwards married. After this, the Amazons were forced to make peace with the Athenians; and these, either in memory of this, or their late victory, erected a pillar near the temple of Tellus Olympia.

SOME time after, THESEUS contracted an intimacy with Pirithous, the son of Ixion, and being invited to his nuptials, assisted him in slaying a great number of Centaurs, and driving the rest out of the country. These were Thessalian horsemen, who in their cups had offered violence to the female guests.

THE most unjustifiable actions in the life of THESEUS, and which caused him infinite trouble and disquiet, besides irreparable loss and damage, were the consequences of a scheme concerted between himself and Pirithous. At this time the famous Helen, afterwards married to Menelaüs, was cried up as the greatest

greatest beauty in the world, tho' but nine years of age. THESEUS had entertained a vehement passion to be possessed of this young lady. They agreed therefore to carry her off, and went accordingly to Sparta, and stole her out of the temple of Diana Ortia, where she happened to be dancing. Tho' THESEUS was then above fifty years old, yet could not his virtue be proof against her charms. However, the time, and place, and circumstances of this action are variously reported. This made much noise, and they were pursued as far as Tegea ; but made their escape out of Peloponnesus. Thinking themselves now secure of their Prize, they agreed to cast lots for her, on condition that he, to whose lot she fell, should assist his friend in getting some other celebrated beauty in lieu of her ; and fortune declared for THESEUS. Thus were the attempts on this lady upon the whole as extraordinary as the charms of her person. A Greek poet has prettily and humourously introduced her, as lamenting in age the decay of those charms, more than the singular enterprizes which before they had occasioned ; and indeed with some colour of truth, according to the report of history. For howsoever she might resent the injuries of age, the constitution of this fair lady seems not to have been much averse to the gallantries of youth. But the lines are to this purpose ;

As in the mirror Helen view'd her face,

Where wastful years had cancell'd many a grace,

VOL. I.

I

Thrice

"Thrice have I suffer'd rape," she said with rage,
 "By THESEUS first, then Paris, now by age!
 "Those might be borne; but this affliction sure
 "No woman can have patience to endure;
 "For the two first were tolerable harms,
 "But this vile age has rifled all my charms;
 "Then was I still admir'd, now doom'd to scorn,
 "And ravish'd — ev'n from myself, I mourn."

IT was now THESEUS' turn to assist Pirithoüs in a scheme of the like nature. Proserpina, the daughter of Aidonius, king of the Molossi in Epirus, was in repute the next in beauty to Helen. The next attempt was therefore to be made upon her. But she was guarded by a fierce dog named Cerberus, and was not to be won but by the death of this terrible animal; nor had they been so private in their consultations, but that the king gain'd some intelligence of their design to steal her away. He therefore seiz'd upon the two adventurers; threw Pirithoüs to be torne in pieces by the dog Cerberus; and put THESEUS in prison; from which he was afterwards released at the intercession of Hercules.

DURING his absence, Mnestheus, the son of Peters, Grandson of Ercetheus, had taken care to ingratiate himself so far with the nobles and commons, that when he returned, he found them very cold towards him. Soon after this, the war which Castor and Pollux

Pollux waged against him for the recovery of their sister Helen, raised a powerful faction against him. And as soon as the two brothers were got to the gates of the city, Mnestheus harangued the citizens, and told them, that as the quarrel was only with THESEUS, their safest way was to open the gates to the enemy. And THESEUS, finding it impossible to resist the torrent, conveyed himself and family away privately, after he had pronounced a solemn curse against his faithless subjects, which did not go unheard. For the ungrateful Athenians, who expressed more joy for their new king, than grief for their old one, were in process of time made so sensible of the effects of his curse, that, to appease his ghost, they appointed solemn sacrifices and divine honors to be paid to him. The place where he pronounced his dire imprecations against them, was from thenceforth called Arathereon, or the place of cursing.

His design was now to have failed to Crete, and to have obtained either succours or a sanctuary there, from Deucalion the son of Minos, who was now his brother-in-law. For after the death of the Amazonian queen, he had married Phædra, the sister of Deucalion, by whom he had two sons. But in his passage he was unfortunately cast by a tempest on the island of Scyros. Here he was at first kindly received by king Lycomedes, but was soon after

killed by a fall from an high mountain, in the fortieth year of his reign. Some say, that he was decoyed thither by that king, who, either out of fear of him, or, which is most probable, at the instigation of his Athenian rival, threw him headlong down that precipice. Others report, that the place being his usual walk after supper, his foot unhappily slipped in the dark.

THE Athenians some time after dedicated a temple to him; and Cimon, the famous son of Miltiades, razed the whole island of Scyros, in revenge of his death, and carried his bones to Athens.



CHAP. IX.

OF LYCURGUS.

SOME of our readers may perhaps wonder that we do not here give a particular account of the Theban Hercules, who lived in the time of Theseus. Indeed none of the illustrious names here spoken of were without their failings; for they were all men. But the truth is, besides that this history is generally known, the greatest actions of this Hercules (many of which have been falsely ascribed to him) were complicated with such a number of rapes, murders, and adulteries, as deservedly exclude him from a place in our collection of exemplary worthies;

we

we therefore proceed to the history of the famous Spartan law-giver.

LYCURGUS was the son of Polydectes, the sixth king of Lacedæmon, of the line of Eurytion, but by a second wife: however, his elder brother dying without children, the right of succession remained in him. He accordingly took the administration upon him, waiting however to see whether his sister-in-law was with child. This princess finding herself pregnant, acquainted him with it privately, and with a promise, that if he would marry her, she would take some effectual method to destroy the embryo. LYCURGUS, tho' shocked at the proposal, gave her some distant hopes of complying, but withal used all proper means to prevent her miscarrying, 'till the time of her delivery was come. He then sent for some persons of note to be present at her labour. She was soon after brought to bed of a son, the news of which being sent to him while he was at supper with some noble Spartans, he came immediately, and taking the child in his arms, said to those who were present, "This is your king," laid him on a chair of state, and gave him the name of Charilaus. This generous action did not however satisfy all the Spartans. The incens'd queen, by the help of her brother Leonidas, persuaded many of them that he was only acting a game, in order to seize and secure the crown to himself by the

death of the young prince. To prevent therefore an insinuation so vile, and so far from his intentions, from gaining credit, LYCURGUS withdrew himself into a voluntary exile, from which he returned not 'till Charilaus was married and had a son to succeed him.

THE injuries which he had received, and the base constructions which had been put upon his best actions, did not hinder LYCURGUS from applying himself with the same diligence abroad to the study of that science which might render him useful to his country, that he was wont to practice when at home. To this end he devoted all his travels; and like a true patriot, was careful that neither time nor place should alter his attachment to his fellow-citizens. Full of these noble conceptions, he first visited Crete, an island famous in ancient times, for the laws by which it was governed, and for that artful polity which had been established there in the earliest ages. It was at this time governed by several princes, or at least, cantoned into various independent states, through all which LYCURGUS travelled, procuring to himself the acquaintance of persons of the first rank, and, by their means, a perfect knowledge of their laws. Amongst all the friendships which he contracted in Crete, that which stood him in most stead was his intimacy with Thales the lyric poet, whom he persuaded to be the companion

panion of his voyages, and afterwards to return with him to Sparta. This poet was not a writer of amorous or drunken songs, but one who made use of the sweetness of poetic numbers, to recommend temperance, modesty, obedience and civil harmony; and whose songs paved the way to the admission of LYCURGUS' laws, by removing that ferocity, and intractable disposition, to which the Lacedæmonians had 'till then been addicted.

FROM Crete he passed over to the continent of Asia, that he might philosophize on the Ionian mode of life, which differed greatly from the Cretan. Here he found the works of Homer, which he transcribed with eagerness, and brought over with him into Greece; whereas yet they had only some scattered rhapsodies of that famous author's poems, which, however loose and unconnected, were yet highly esteemed.

FROM Ionia LYCURGUS went into Egypt; a place never forgot by such as travelled in quest of wisdom. There he met with that method of distinguishing military men from mechanics, which he afterwards introduced at Sparta.

As to his voyages to Spain, Africa, and the Indies, the credit of them rests upon a single author. At this distance of time therefore we can affirm nothing about them; but shall pass to the affairs of Sparta, during his absence.

THE inhabitants of Lacedæmon, naturally bold and turbulent, were continually quarrelling amongst themselves; or trespassing on the prerogative of their princes. The kings on the other hand, sometimes joining with the prevailing faction, practised a kind of tyranny; while at other times they had much ado to support a legal authority. And these confusions were greater or less, according as the princes happened to be men of parts or otherwise. At this time neither of the kings (for there were usually two at a time in this state) had any shining genius. Archelaüs had the most wit; but Charilaüs was the better man, more affable, and beloved. The people however regarded neither of them, so much as they did LYCURGUS. Wherefore, taking it into their heads that many things went wrong, and that the frame of government was out of order since this great man's departure; they sent ambassadors to solicit his return. They told him, that tho' they had indeed kings, whom their birth, their title, and their robes shewed to be such; yet, as to royal qualities, and that disposition of mind which deserves to rule, they had observed nothing in them of that kind, since his departure.

THO' this language seemed to bear a little hard upon the princes, yet they were not averse to his return; hoping that his presence would serve as a bulwark, and defend them from the growing insolence

lence of the people. To gratify therefore the unanimous voice of his fellow-citizens, LYCURGUS shaped his course homeward, in order to put in practice that wisdom at home, which with so much industry and pains he had acquired abroad.

On his arrival at Sparta, he found all things in a very bad way. The people were mutinous, the kings timorous, and no middle rank of people who durst interpose between them. He acted in this case like a wise physician; for knowing that palliatives would do little or no good, he determined to alter the whole political constitution, in order to introduce and establish sanity, by thoroughly purging out all peccant humours. A glorious undertaking! but attended with mighty difficulties, and equal dangers! To surmount those, and avoid these, he endeavoured in the first place to gain the confidence of the most eminent men in Sparta, by communicating to them his scheme, shewing them the reasons upon which it was founded, and so winning their approbation and assistance. He next sought to secure the obedience of the people, by pretending to the sanction of divinity, and ascribing all his regulations to the counsels of the Delphian Apollo. For having made a journey to Delphos, and there offered sacrifice, he returned with an oracle, which filled him, *Beloved of God, and rather God than man*; declared the laws which he had framed perfectly good;
and

and promised to make the commonwealth wherein they were observed, the most famous in the world.

THIS divine manifesto having wonderfully awed the people, the next thing he had to do, was to publish these laws, which that he might perform with security, he appointed thirty of his friends to appear by break of day, armed in the market-place. But of these only twenty-eight appeared.

AT the news of these preparations, Charilaüs, who, tho' honest, was very timorous, fled to the temple of Minerva, the protectress; for he feared that a conspiracy had been formed against his person. But when LYCURGUS sent to inform him of his real design, the king not only quitted the sanctuary, but repaired to the market-place, and entered into the confederacy. The first step taken was, the establishing a senate consisting of twenty-eight persons, or thirty including the two kings. This alone was of very great consequence, since it fixed the form of government, which had hitherto fluctuated between tyranny and democracy. The senate now poised the authority both of the kings and the people, taking part with the former, if the latter were seditious; and with the latter, if the former were too enterprizing. That the people might not apprehend their condition to be worse than it was before, LYCURGUS allowed them to meet in

general assembly, which was to be held in the open air, and wherein they were not permitted to deliberate, but had barely a power of assenting to, or dissenting from, what the kings and the senate proposed.

WHEN LYCURGUS, by constituting a senate, had secured to himself an accession of power, he proceeded entirely to new-model the commonwealth, and to adjust all things to the scheme that he had formed, without any respect whatsoever to their former state and condition. This was a mighty project. And if we consider it well, and take at the same time a strict view of those laws which he introduced, we shall have a just idea of his superior genius, of the form of the Spartan government, and of the means whereby a state, which was not considerable either for the number or wealth of its people, maintained itself so long in the sovereignty of Greece. We the rather took upon us to enter into a strict detail of the laws of LYCURGUS, because hitherto only general and imperfect accounts of the Spartan republic have been inserted in our histories of Greece, and even in books relating more strictly to politicks. Whereas we shall make it evident, that these superficial draughts of a constitution are by no means sufficient to give us a just idea of its force and effects.

THE laws of LYCURGUS may be properly divided into twelve tables, according to the subjects of which

which they treated. By a proper attention to the contents of these tables, we shall come at that perfect notion of LYCURGUS' scheme, which is absolutely necessary to a thorough understanding of the Lacedæmonian history.

TABLE I.

IN the first place we shall comprehend such of the Spartan laws, as concerned religion. The statues of all the gods and goddesses, worshipped by this people, were armed, even to Venus herself. The reason of which was, that the people might conceive a military life as the most noble and honorable, and not attribute, as other nations did, sloth and luxury to the gods. As to sacrifices; they consisted of things of very small value; for which LYCURGUS himself gave this reason, that want might never disable them from worshipping the gods. They were forbidden to make long or rash prayers to the heavenly powers, and were enjoined to ask no more, than that they might live honestly and discharge their duty. Graves were permitted to be made within the bounds of the city, contrary to the customs of most of the Greek nations. Nay, they buried close by their temples; that all degrees of people might be made familiar with death, and not conceive it such a dreadful thing as it was generally thought elsewhere. On the same account touching dead bodies, or assisting at funerals, made none unclean; and these

these were held to be as innocent and honorable duties, as any other. As to the mode of burying; it was also rendered simple and unexpensive by law. There was nothing thrown into the grave with the dead body. Magnificent sepulchres were forbidden. Neither was there so much as an inscription, however plain or modest, permitted. Tears, sighs and outcries were not allowed in public; because they were judged dishonorable in Spartans, whom their lawgiver would have to endure all things with equanimity. Mournings were stinted to eleven days. On the twelfth the mourner sacrificed to Ceres, and threw aside the melancholy weeds. In favour of such as were slain in war however, and of women who had devoted themselves to a religious life, there was an exception allowed as to the rules before-mentioned; for such had a short and decent inscription on their tombs. When a number of Spartans fell in battle, at a distance from their own country, many of them were buried together under one common tomb. But if they fell on the frontiers of their own state, then their bodies were carefully carried back to Sparta, and interred in their family-sepulchres.

TABLE II.

UNDER the second table let us place the statutes relating to the lands, and to the city. LYCURGUS divided all the country of Laconia into thirty thousand equal shares. The city of Sparta he divided into nine

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thousand, as some say; others say into six thousand only; and others, into four thousand five hundred. The intent of the legislator was, that property should be equally divided amongst his citizens: so that none might be powerful enough to oppress his fellows, or any be in such necessity, as should lay them under the danger of corruption. With the same view he forbade the sale or purchase of those possessions. If a stranger acquired a right to any of these shares, he might quietly enjoy it, provided that he submitted to the laws of the republic. The city of Sparta was to be kept unwall'd, LYCURGUS trusting it rather to the virtue of the citizens, than to the art of masons. As to the houses, they were very plain; for their cielings could only be wrought by the axe, and their gates and doors only by the saw. All their utensils were to be of a like stamp, that luxury might have no instrument among them.

T A B L E III.

THIS table shall consist of the laws regarding citizens. In the first place they were to be neither more nor less, than the number of the city-lots: and, if at any time there happened to be more, they were led out in colonies. As to children; the laws were equally harsh and unreasonable: for a father was directed to carry his new-born infant to a certain place, where the gravest men of his tribe examined it. If they perceived its limbs strait, and thought it had an
wholesome

wholesome look, they returned it to its parents to be educated : otherwise, it was thrown into a deep cavern at the foot of the mountain Taygetus. This law however, seems to have had one very good effect ; *viz.* It made the women very careful, when they were with child, of either eating, drinking, or exercising to excess. It made them also excellent nurses. And for this they were in mighty request throughout Greece. Strangers were not allowed to reside long in the city, that they might not corrupt the Spartans by introducing new-fangled customs- Citizens were also forbidden to travel for the same reason, unless the good of the state required it. Such as were not bred up in their youth according to the law, were not allowed the liberty of the city ; because they held it unreasonable, that one, who had not submitted to the laws in his younger days, should reap the benefit of them in manhood. They never preferred a stranger to a public office ; but if at any time they had occasion for a person not born a Spartan, they first made him a citizen, and then preferred him.

TABLE IV.

THIS shall contain the laws relating to marriage. Celibacy in men was infamous, and punished in a most extraordinary manner. For, in the first place, the old batchellor was constrained to walk naked, in the depth of winter, through the market-place : secondly while he was doing this, he was obliged to sing a song

in disparagement of himself: and thirdly, he had none of the honors paid him, which otherwise belonged to old age. For it was held unreasonable that the youth should venerate him, who was resolv'd to leave no progeny behind him to reverence them when they grew old in turn. The time of marriage was also fixed. If a man did not marry when he was of full age, he was liable to an action; as were such also, who married above or below themselves. Those who had three children had great immunities. They who had four, were exempt from all taxes whatsoever. Virgins were married without portions; because neither want should hinder a man from marrying, nor riches induce him to marry contrary to his inclinations. When a marriage was agreed upon, the husband committed a kind of rape upon his bride, who was not a tender raw girl, but one in the flower of her age, and fit to bring healthy children. Husbands went for a long time, secretly and by stealth to the beds of their wives, that their love might not be quickly and easily extinguished. Husbands were allowed to lend their wives; but the kings were forbidden to take that liberty. Some other laws of the like nature there were, which it is not necessary for us to dwell on; because, as they were evidently against modesty, so they were far from producing the ends which LYCURGUS intended from them. Since, tho' the men of Sparta were generally remarkable for their virtue, the Spartan women were generally notorious for their boldness and contempt of decency.

TABLE V.

HERE we shall give the laws relating to their food or nourishment. It was the care of LYCURGUS, that from their infancy, the Lacedæmonians should be inured to conquer their appetites. For this reason, he directed that nurses should accustom their children to spare meals, and now and then to fasting; that they should carry them, when twelve or thirteen years old, to those who should examine their education, and who should carefully observe whether they were able to be in the dark alone; and whether they had got over all the other follies and weaknesses incident to children. He directed, that children of all ranks should be brought up in the same way; and that none should be more favour'd in food than another; that they might not, even in their infancy, perceive any difference between poverty and riches, but consider each other as equals, and even as brethren, to whom the same portions were assigned, and who through the course of their lives were to fare alike. Only youths were allowed to eat flesh. Older men ate black broth and pulse. The lads slept together in chambers, and after a manner somewhat resembling the practice made use of in Turkey for the Janizaries. Their beds in the summer were very hard, being composed of reeds plucked by the hand from the banks of the Eurotas. In winter, their beds were somewhat softer, but by no means downy, or fit to indulge immoderate sleep in. They ate altogether

in public, and in case any abstained from coming to the tables, they were fined. Xenophon seems to have penetrated farther into the reason of this institution than any other author, as indeed he had better opportunities of doing it. For, whereas the rest affirm that the only design of this was to repress luxury, he very wisely remarks, that it was also intended to serve as a kind of school or academy, where the young were instructed by the old; the former relating the great things which had been performed in their memory, and exciting the growing generation to emulate the bravery of their ancestors. It was likewise strictly forbidden them to eat or drink at home, before they came to the common meals. Even there each had his proper portion, that every thing might be done with gravity and decency. The black broth was the great rarity of the Spartans, which was composed of salt, vinegar, blood, &c. So that in our times it would be deemed a very unfavoury soup. If they were moderate in their eating, they were so in their drinking also. Thirst was the sole measure thereof, and never any Lacedæmonian entertain'd a thought of drinking for pleasure. As for drunkenness, it was both infamous and severely punished. And that the young men might perceive how reasonably this punishment was inflicted, slaves were compelled to drink to excess, that the baseness of the vice might appear. When they retired from the public meals, they were not allowed any torches or lights, because

it.

it was expected that men, who were perfectly sober, should be able to find their way in the dark. Besides that, it gave them a facility of marching without light; a thing wonderfully useful to them in time of war.

TABLE VI.

THE laws relating to their dress or habit, fall under the sixth table. As the poor ate as well as the rich; so the rich could wear nothing better than the poor. They neither changed their fashion, nor the materials of their garments. They were made for warmth and strength, not for gallantry and shew. And to this custom even their kings conformed, who wore nothing splendid in right of their dignity; but were contented that their virtue should distinguish them, rather than royal robes. The young lads wore a tunic, 'till they were twelve years old; afterwards they had a cloak given them, which was to serve them a year. And their clothing was in general so thin, that a Lacedæmonian vest became proverbial. Boys were always used to go without shoes; but when they grew up, they were indulged the use of them, if their manner of life required it. But they were always inured to run without them, as also to climb up, and slip down steep places with bare feet. Nay, the very shoe, which they used, was of a particular form, plain and strong, and from the place of its invention, called Laconic. Boys were not permitted to wear

wear their hair; but when they grew up, they did not cut it. Baths and unctions were not much in use among the Lacedæmonians; the river Eurotas supplying the former, and exercise the latter. In the field however, their sumptuary laws did not take place so strictly as in the city. For when they went to war, they wore purple habits. They put on crowns, when they were about to engage the enemy. They had also rings, but they were of iron; which metal was most esteemed by this nation. Young women wore their vests or jerkins only to their knees, or as some think, not quite so low; a custom, which both Greek and Roman authors censure as indecent. Gold, precious stones, and other costly ornaments, were permitted only to common women: which permission was the strongest prohibition to women of virtue, or who affected to be thought virtuous. Virgins went abroad without veils; with which married women, on the contrary, were always covered. In certain public exercises, in which girls were admitted, as well as boys, they were both obliged to perform naked. Plutarch apologizes for this custom, urging that there could be no danger from nakedness to the morals of youth, whose minds were fortified by, and habituated to Virtue. Some learned men have endeavoured to account for the motives of LYCURGUS in this part of his institution, supposing that he had a view to cultivate thereby the natural propensity of the sexes to each other; in order to prevent the Spartan youth

youth from taking that unnatural bias, so dishonorable to human nature, and so destructive to society; and which, as the sacred historians acquaint us, was frequent in the earliest ages, even soon after the flood. But another and a better reason may be given for it.

WHEN we consider that there is such a perverseness in human nature, that prohibition, however reasonable and beneficial to individuals, as well as to society in particular cases, does but too often serve to excite those appetites which prudence should check; and that those nations are the most inordinate in their passions, where the free and innocent conversation of each with the other is denied, and where the one is immured and restrained by the tyranny of the other, in Spain and Italy, for instance, as well as in the eastern nations; we say, that when this is considered, we may presume that LYCURGUS, by thus publickly familiarizing the sexes to each other in their athletic exercises, judg'd it to be the best and most likely method to take away the curiosity and weaken the temptation. To this purpose it is observed by bishop Burnet in his travels, that in France, where a much greater freedom reigns than in Italy or Spain; women indeed are often induced by the delicacy of intrigue, as he calls it, to go greater lengths than at first they intended; but that in Italy their very first deviation is into downright lewdness.

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THE author of the Travels of Cyrus, a piece full of admirable instructions, and which is generally founded on the truth of history, sets this matter in the same light. He introduces Cyrus as designing to be present at the assemblies of the young Lacedæmonians, " Which were held, says he, within a large inclosure, surrounded with divers seats of turf, raised one above another, in form of an Amphitheatre. There he beheld young girls almost naked, contending with boys in running, wrestling, dancing, and all sorts of laborious exercise. The boys were not permitted to marry any, but such as they had vanquished at these games.

" CYRUS was shocked to see the liberty which reigned in those public assemblies, between persons of different sexes; and could not forbear representing it to Chilo. There seems, said he, to be a great inconsistency in the laws of LYCURGUS. His aim was only to have a republic of warriors, inured to all sorts of labors. Yet, nevertheless, he has not been afraid to expose them to sensuality, which may weaken their courage.

" THE design of LYCURGUS in establishing these festivals, replied Chilo, was to preserve and perpetuate military virtue in his republic. That great law giver was well-acquainted with human nature. He knew what influence the inclinations and dispositions

sitions of mothers have upon their children. His design was to make the Spartan women heroines, that they might bring the republic none but heroes.

“BESIDES, continued Chilo, gross sensuality, and delicate love, are equally unknown at Lacedæmon. It is only in these public festivals, that the familiarity which so much offends you, is allowed. LYCURGUS judged it possible to deaden the fire of voluptuous desires, by accustoming the eye sometimes to those objects which excite them. At all other times the women are very reserved. Nay, it is not permitted, according to our laws, for new-married people to see one another often in private. And thus our youth are formed to temperance and moderation even in the most lawful pleasures.”

To this we may add, that it will be found, on enquiry among travellers, that those nations are far from being the most libidinous, where it is the custom for the persons of the sexes to be most exposed. The naked statue of the Venus of Medicis is not perhaps so enflaming, as an half-robed Atalanta would be. Custom, and fashion sanctify every thing. And this we may be allowed to observe, that there are fashions amongst our modern ladies, which are more censurable than the short jerkins of the Spartan virgins; as they are much more troublesome to the wearer; much more unnatural to the human shape;

shape; and occasionally as much expose those limbs, which fashion has made it a degree of indecency to expose. But to return from our digression.

ONE of LYCURGUS' principal views in his institutions, was to eradicate the very seeds of civil dissensions in his republic. Hence proceeded the equal division of estates enjoined by him; hence the contempt of wealth, and the neglect of other distinctions, as particularly of birth. For he considered the people of his whole state as one great family. And he observed that those distinctions in other states produced tumults and confusions, which shook their very foundations.

T A B L E VII.

THE rules regarding discipline and manners fall under the seventh table. Tho' the Spartans were always free, yet it was with this restriction, that they were subservient to their own laws, which bound them as strictly in the city, as soldiers in other states were bound by the rules of war in the camp. In the first place, strict obedience to their superiors was the great thing required in Sparta. This they looked upon as the very basis of government; without which neither laws or magistrates availed much. Old age was an indubitable title to honor and reverence there. To the old men the youth rose up, whenever they came into any public place. They gave

gave way to them, when they met them in the streets; and were silent whenever their elders spoke. As all children were looked upon as the children of the state, so all the old men had the authority of parents. They reprehended whatever they saw amiss, not only in their own, but in other people's children. And by this method LYCURGUS provided, that as youth are very apt to offend, they might be no where without a monitor. The laws went still farther. If an old man was present, where a young one committed a fault, and did not reprove him, he was punished equally with the delinquent. Amongst the youths there was one of their own body, or at most but two years older than the rest, who was stiled Iren. He had authority to question all their actions, to look strictly to their behaviour, and to punish them, if they did amiss. Neither were their punishments light, but on the contrary very severe; whereby the youth were made hardy, and accustomed to bear stripes and rough usage. Silence was a thing highly commended at Sparta, where modesty was held to be a most becoming Virtue in young people. Nor was it confined only to their words and actions, but to their very looks and gestures. For LYCURGUS particularly directed that they should look forward, or on the ground, and that they should always keep their hands within their robes. A stupid, inconsiderate person, one who would not listen to instruction,

but was careless of whatever the world might say of him, the Lacedæmonians treated as a scandal to human nature. With such a one they would not converse; but threw him off as a rotten branch, and a worthless member of Society.

T A B L E VIII.

THE studies and learning of this people fall naturally into the eighth table. The plainness of their manners, and their being so very much addicted to war, made the Lacedæmonians less fond of the sciences than the rest of the Greeks. They measured the worth of all things by their usefulness; and therefore, if they wrote to be read, and spoke to be understood, it was all they sought. For this the Athenians, who were excessively vain of their learning, held the Spartans in great contempt: insomuch that Thucydides himself, in drawing the character of Brasidas, says, that he spoke well enough for a Lacedæmonian. These, on the other hand, valued themselves no less on account of their roughness, and their steady adherence to the maxims of their ancestors; as, amongst other instances, appears from this answer of a Spartan to one of the learned Athenians, who upbraided him with the ignorance of his country: *All you say may be true, yet it amounts to no more, than that we only amongst the Greeks have learned no civil customs from you.* Arts were in no greater credit with them than sciences. That of a soldier was the only reputable

putable profession in Sparta. A mechanic or husbandman was thought a low fellow. The reason of this was, that they imagined professions, which required much labour or some constant posture or confinement at home, or the warmth of a continual fire, to weaken the body, and depress the mind. Whereas, a man, brought up hardily, was equally fit to attend the service of the republic in time of peace, and to fight its battles when engaged in war. LYCURGUS, as the chevalier de Ramsay observes well, had remarked that subtle speculations, and all the refinements of science, served often to spoil the understanding, and corrupt the heart: for which reason he made little account of them. Nothing however was neglected to awaken in children the taste of pure reason, and to give them a strength of judgment. But all kinds of studies, which were not serviceable to good manners, were looked upon as useless or dangerous occupations. The Spartans were of opinion, that in the present state of human nature, man is formed rather for action than knowledge, and better qualified for society than contemplation. Therefore such occupations as were necessary to be followed for the benefit of the whole, as husbandry, agriculture, and the like, were left to their slaves, the Helotes; so they were called. But for curious arts and such as ministered only to luxury, they would not so much as suffer them to be introduced into their city: in consequence of which,

rhetoricians, augurs, bankers, and dealers in money, were also shut out. Nor did the Spartans admit any theatrical entertainments among them. They would not bear the representation of evil, even to produce good. But other kinds of poetry were allowed, provided the magistrates had the perusal of the pieces, before they were handed to the public.

ABOVE all things, they affected brevity of speech, and accustomed their children from their very infancy, never to express themselves in more words than were strictly necessary. Whence a concise and sententious oratory is to this day filed Laconic. In writing they used the same conciseness; of which we have a signal instance in a letter of Archidamus to the Eleans, when he understood that they had some thoughts of assisting the Arcadians. It ran thus, *Archidamus to the Eleans, It is good to be quiet.* And therefore Epaminondas thought, that he had reason to glory in having forced the Spartans to abandon their monosyllables, and lengthen their discourses.

WE need not wonder that LYCURGUS, who intended that his citizens should be governed by laws and customs so peculiar, should strictly prohibit, as he did, those of their neighbours or other states, to be so much as made the subject of discourse in his. But those, who have inferred from thence that
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the Lacedæmonians were equally solicitous to prevent strangers from gaining acquaintance with their laws and customs, are somewhat mistaken. For in this point they were not so strict.

THE greatest part of their education consisted in giving their youth right ideas of men and things. The Iren or master proposed questions; and either commended the answers that were made to him, or reproved such as answered weakly. In these questions, all matters of either a trivial or abstruse nature were equally avoided: and they were confined to such points as were of the highest importance in civil life; such as, "Who was the best man in the city? Wherein lay the merit of such an action? And, whether this or that hero's fame was well-founded? Harmless raillery was greatly encouraged. And this, joined to their short manner of speaking, rendered Laconic replies universally admired.

MUSIC was encouraged. But in this, as in other things, they adhered to that which had been most in request with their ancestors. And they were so strict herein, that they would not permit their slaves to learn either the tune or the words of their most admired odes; or, which is all one, they would not permit them to be sung, if they had learned them. Tho' the youth of the male sex were much cherished and beloved, as those who were to build up

and perpetuate the future glory of the state ; yet in Sparta it was a virtuous and modest affection, untinged with that sensuality which was so scandalous at Athens. The good effects of this part of LYCURGUS' institutions were seen in the union that reigned among his citizens : and which was so extraordinary, that even in cases of competition, it was hardly known that rivals bore ill will to each other. But, on the contrary, their love to the same person begat a secondary friendship among themselves, and united them in all things, which could be for the benefit of the person beloved.

SOME authors have been very free in accusing this great lawgiver of encouraging theft in his institutions ; which, say they, was not deemed scandalous among the Spartans, if it was but so dextrously managed, as that the person was not detected in it. If this were true, no apology could be made for this encouragement, which would not equally disgrace the apologist and the legislator. But this is certain, and seems to be a strong contradiction of the heinous charge, that when a theft was discovered, it was punished with the utmost severity. A person even suspected of it, would endure the heaviest punishments rather than acknowledge it, and be branded with so base a crime.



IN reality, says Ramfay, great care was taken of the education of children at Sparta. They were chiefly taught to obey, to undergo labor, to conquer in combats, and to face pain and death with courage. They went with their heads bare, and their feet naked, lay upon rushes, and ate very little; and this little they were obliged to procure by dexterity in the public banqueting-rooms. Not that the Spartans authorized thefts and robberies: for, as all was common in their republic, those vices could have no place there. But the design was to accustom children, who were destined for war, to surprize the vigilance of those who watched over them, and to expose themselves courageously to the severest punishments, in case they failed in that dexterity which was exacted of them. A dexterity indeed, which would have been attended with very pernicious effects to the morals of any youth but the Spartan, educated, as that was, in the contempt of riches and superfluities, and guarded by great severity of life and manners; and which would well deserve the opprobrious name of theft bestowed on it by some authors, as the law itself would have been justly censured, which encouraged such dextrous surprizes, if allowed in states less virtuous and austere.

TABLE IX.

WE come now to the exercises instituted by law. In these all the Greeks were extremely careful; but the

the Lacedæmonians in a degree beyond the rest. For if a youth by his corpulence, or any other means, became unfit for the exercises, he underwent contempt at least, if not banishment. Hunting was the usual diversion of their children. Nay, indeed it was made a part of their education; because it had a tendency to strengthen their limbs, and to render those, who practised it, supple and fleet. They likewise bred up dogs for hunting with great care. They had a kind of public dances, in which they exceedingly delighted, and which were alike common to virgins and young men. Indeed, in all their sports, girls were allowed to divert themselves with the youths. Inasmuch that at darting, throwing the quoit, pitching the bar, and such-like robust diversions, the women were dextrous as the men. For the manifest oddity of this proceeding LYCURGUS assign'd no other reason, than that he designed to render women, as well as men, strong and healthy, that the children which they should bring forth might be so too. Violent exercises, and a laborious kind of life, were only enjoined the youth. For, when they were grown up to men's estate, that is, were upwards of thirty years old, they were exempt from all kinds of labor, and employed themselves wholly in affairs of state, or in war. They had at a certain time, a method of whipping young lads in the temple of Diana, and about her altar; which however palliated, was certainly unnatural and cruel.

cruel. It was esteemed a great honor for lads to sustain these flagellations without weeping, groaning, or shewing any sense of pain. And the thirst of glory was so strong in these young minds, that they very frequently suffered death without shedding a tear, or breathing a sigh. A desire of overcoming all the weaknesses of nature, and thereby rendering his Spartans not only superior to their neighbours, but even to their species, runs through all the institutions of LYCURGUS; which principle, if well attended to, thoroughly explains them; and without attending to which, it is impossible to give any account of them at all.

TABLE X.

HERE we comprehend the laws respecting contracts and money-matters. Gold and silver were, by the constitutions of LYCURGUS, made of no value in Sparta. He was so well apprized of the danger of riches, that he made the very possession of them penal. But as there was no living without some sort of money, that is, some common measure of the standard or worth of things, he directed an iron coinage, whereby the Spartans were supplied with the useful money, and at the same time had no temptation to covetousness afforded them. For a very small sum was sufficient to load a couple of horses; and a greater one must have been kept in a barn or warehouse. The coming in of all foreign money was also prohibited,

prohibited, that corruption might not enter under the pretence of commerce. The most ancient method of dealing by barter or exchange of one commodity for another, was preserved by law in Sparta, long after it was out of date every where else. Interest was a thing forbidden in the Spartan commonwealth, where they had also a law against alienation of lands; as was the accepting of presents from foreigners, even without the limits of their own country, and when their authority and character might well seem to excuse them. Thus by all possible methods LYCURGUS sought to shut out corruption; to oblige his citizens to live simply and innocently, without admitting amongst them those seeds of luxury and dissension, which he saw to have produced such fatal effects in the regions through which he had travelled.

TABLE XI.

SUCH of the laws of Sparta, as related to courts of justice may be brought under this table. Thirty years must have passed over the head of him, who had a right to concern himself in judicial proceedings. Young men were thought unfit for them; and it was even held indecent, and of evil report, for a man to have any fondness for law-suits, or to be busying himself at the tribunals, when he had no affairs there of his own. By these rules LYCURGUS thought to shut out litigiousness, and to prevent that multiplicity

multiplicity of suits, which is always scandalous in a state. As young people were not permitted to enquire about the laws of other countries, and as they were hindered from hearing judicial proceedings in their courts, so were they likewise forbidden to ask any questions about, or to endeavour to discover, the reasons of the laws by which themselves were governed. Obedience was their duty, and to that alone he would have them kept. Men of abandoned characters, or who were notoriously of ill fame, lost all right of giving their votes in respect of public affairs, and speaking in public assemblies. For they would not believe that a bad man in private life could mean his country better than he did his neighbour.

TABLE XII.

THE military laws of Sparta must compose the last table. 'Till a man was thirty years of age, he was not capable of serving in the army. They were forbidden to march at any time before the full moon. The reason of this law is very hard to be discovered, if indeed it had any reason at all, or was not rather founded on some superstitious opinion that this was a more lucky conjuncture than any other. They were likewise forbidden to fight often against the same enemy. This was one of the wisest maxims in the political system of LYCURGUS. And Agesilaüs, by offending against it, destroyed the power of his country, and lost her that authority, which for many
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ages she had maintained over the rest of Greece, For, by continual warring against the Thebans, to whom he bore an inveterate hatred, he at last beat them into the knowledge of the art of war, and enabled them under the command of Epaminondas to maintain for a time the principality of Greece. Maritime affairs they were forbidden to meddle with; tho' the necessity of things compelled them, in process of time to transgress this institution, and by degrees to transfer to themselves as well the dominion of the sea as of the land. But after the Peloponnesian war they again neglected naval affairs, from a persuasion that strangers and sailors corrupted those with whom they conversed. As they never fortified Sparta, they were not ready to undertake sieges. Fighting in the field was their proper province. And, while they could overcome their enemies there, they rightly conceived that nothing could hurt them at home. In time of war, they relaxed somewhat of their strict manner of living in which they were singular. The true reason of this was, in all probability, that war might be less burdensome to them. For, as a strong desire to render them bold, and warlike was the reigning passion of their legislator; they were forbidden to remain long encamped in the same place, as well to hinder their being surprized, as that they might be more troublesome to their enemies, by wasting every corner of their country. They slept all night in their armour; but their out-guards were not allowed their shields, that,
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being unprovided of defence, they might not dare to sleep. In all expeditions, they were careful in the performance of religious rites : and after their evening meal was over, the foldiers in concert fung hymns to the Gods. When they were about to engage, the king facrificed to the Mufes, that, by their affiftance, they might be enabled to perform deeds worthy of being recorded to lateft times. Then the army advanced in order, to the found of flutes, which played the hymn of Caftor. The king himfelf fung the Pæan, which was the fignal to charge. This was done with all the folemnity imaginable : and the foldiers were fure to die or conquer. Indeed they had no other choice ; for if they fled they were infamous, and in danger of being flain even by their own mothers, for difgracing their families. Hiftory informs us that a Spartan lady, on the news of her fon's having fled from a battle, wrote him this fhort letter, " Fame fpeaks ill of you ; efface it, or be no more." In this confifted much of the excellency of the Spartan women, who, if poffible, exceeded the men in bravery, never lamenting over their hufbands or fons, if they died honorably in the field : but deploring the fhame brought upon their houfe, if either the one or the other efcaped by flight. The throwing away a fhield alfo induced infamy ; and, with refpect to this, mothers, when they embraced their departing fons, were wont to caution them, that they fhould either return armed as they were, or be brought back

so when they were dead. For such as were slain in battle were nevertheless buried in their own country. When they made their enemies fly, they pursued no longer than 'till the doubt of victory was over ; because they would seem to fight rather for the honor of conquering, than of putting their enemies to death. According to their ancient rules of war, they were bound not to spoil the dead bodies of their enemies. But in process of time, this, and indeed many other, of their most excellent regulations fell into disuse. He, who overcame by stratagem, offered up an ox to Mars ; whereas he, who conquered by force, offered up only a cock : the former being esteemed more manly than the latter. After forty years service, a man was by law no longer required to go into the field. And consequently, if the military age was thirty, the Spartans were not rendered invalids 'till they were seventy.

Thus have we comprised the most considerable of the Spartan laws in twelve tables. Some indeed we have omitted ; but such only as were doubtful, or immaterial and of little importance.

LYCURGUS did not commit any of his laws to writing, because he would have them written in the hearts of the people. And to imprint them the more strongly *there*, he took pains to make it believed that they were given to him by Apollo. For this reason he stiled them *Rhetæ*, i.e. Divine Sanctions.

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It is not clear whether LYCURGUS (tho' we judge it very improbable that one of his clear and uncorrupt morals should be so) was the author of that inhuman political contrivance, which prevailed amongst his country-men, for lessening the number of their slaves, whenever they grew dangerous to the state, and which was styled Cryptia, or the Ambuscade. Such as had the care of educating the Spartan youth, picked out the stoutest of them, and having armed them with daggers, sent them out to destroy their unhappy slaves. This they did, either by surprizing them in the night, or falling upon them in the day, when they were at their work, without so much as even a pretence of a crime against them, and for no other reason but that the state might be safe from their attempts by this reduction of their number. Plato greatly condemns this law, and Plutarch positively denies that it was made by LYCURGUS. But when, or however it was made, it was most indubitably against common equity and humanity; a cruel and unnecessary expedient, and unworthy a virtuous people.

THESE slaves were called Helotes. Helos was an ancient city in Laconia, against which, on some pretence or other, the Lacedæmonians made war, and having subdued it, carried all the inhabitants thereof, and of the neighbouring district, into slavery. In process of time, when they had enlarg-

ed the number of persons in this unhappy condition, by subjugating other places, they still kept up the old name, and called them all Helotes ; which ceasing then to be a proper name, became common to all who were in this state of servitude. As to the terms of it, they were these. First, their lords could not set them free ; and secondly, they had no power to sell them, so as they might be transported out of the Lacedæmonian territories. Hence it came to pass that they were prodigiously numerous, which sometimes alarmed the Spartans, and made them devise the law above-recited to keep them under. Plutarch informs us, that the Helotes were employed in cultivating the lands of the republic ; that they did not give an exact account of the produce, but paid a small settled rent, which rent their lord could not raise, without incurring the public censure for such enlargement. So that one would be led to conceive that these Helotes were a kind of bailiffs, stewards, or lower sort of farmers. But others tell us, that liberty and slavery were in their extremes at Sparta ; that none were so free as the citizens of Lacedæmon, nor any such despicable slaves as the Helotes. They were marked out and distinguished as such, by their dress, and all things else. They wore dog skin bonnets, and sheep-skin vests. They were forbidden to learn any liberal art, or to perform any act worthy of their masters. When their lords were so disposed, these poor men were obliged to drink themselves drunk, that
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the free born Spartans might see the baseness of that vice in their behaviour. Once a day they received a certain number of stripes, lest they should forget that they were slaves. And to crown all, they were liable to this *Cryptia*, which was sure to be exercised on all such as spoke, looked, or walked with the air of freemen. To take off somewhat from the horror and scandal of this practice, the Ephori, or popular tribunes, as they might be called, after they were instituted, declared war against them. Against whom? — Why, against poor naked slaves, who tilled their lands, dressed their food, and did all those offices for them, which they were too proud to do for themselves. Plutarch places this cruelty far lower than the times of LYCURGUS, and alledges that it was introduced on account of the Helotes joining with the Messenians after a terrible earthquake, whereby a great part of Lacedæmon was overthrown. But Ælian tells us expressly that it was the common opinion in Greece, that this very earthquake was a judgment from heaven upon the Spartans, for treating these Helotes with so much inhumanity. Thucydides gives us a glaring instance of the jealousy of the Lacedæmonians on account of these poor men. He says, that about two thousand of them, being manumitted by law, were, for their great service in the Peloponnesian war, crowned with garlands, led about to the temples, and entertained with shews: after all which, they disappeared on a sudden, and

were never heard of afterwards. But to return to LYCURGUS.

It is not to be conceived that such mighty changes could be wrought in a country without opposition; neither indeed were they. For when LYCURGUS proceeded to the division of property, a great sedition arose, wherein at last the people came to acts of violence; and he found himself obliged to quit the assembly, in order to fly to a sanctuary. Some however closely pursued him, and one among the rest, by name Alcander, a young nobleman of a generous but too hasty a disposition, struck him on the eye, and, as some say, beat it out. The legislator then stopped, and shewing his face all covered with blood, the people were so struck thereat, that they immediately asked his pardon, and delivered up Alcander into his hands, to be treated as he thought fit. LYCURGUS accepted the proposal, and carried Alcander home with him, where, instead of punishing, or even reproving him harshly, he received him as his attendant, caused him to wait upon him at meals, and kept him always near his person. This mildness was of great service to them both. For Alcander, perceiving that LYCURGUS was not, as he had supposed him, a man of a rough and morose disposition, but of a most sweet and affable temper, became, from his fiercest enemy, his greatest admirer. This wrought mightily on the minds of the people,

ple, and engaged them to receive, as oracles, the instructions of LYCURGUS. Another good which it wrought was this, that it immediately became a law, from which they never receded, that no weapon whatsoever, not even a staff, should be brought into their assemblies or public councils.

WHEN LYCURGUS had fully perfected his design, and wrought the commonwealth into that form, which, from a consideration of the nature of men, and the different effects of various governments upon them, he thought most eligible, his next care was to render this fixt and stable; and to prevent his country-men from over-turning that structure which he had raised, and from returning back to the condition in which he had found them. After some time he fell upon a method of effecting it; which was this. He called a general assembly, wherein he declared, that he now thought every thing was brought into proper order, and that there remained but one point more to be settled: that this point was indeed of the highest importance, but of such a nature that he could not acquaint them with it, 'till he had consulted the Oracle at Delphi; to which place he was ready to go, provided they would engage themselves to observe his Rhetræ inviolably 'till his return. To this all ranks and degrees of people readily assented. And to bind their assent LYCURGUS exacted upon the spot an oath from the two kings, the senate, and the commons.

AFTER

AFTER this he departed, as he had proposed, and went to Delphi. There he proposed this question to the Oracle, *Shall the laws established in Sparta, make that city virtuous and happy?* The response was, *The laws given to Sparta are excellent, and the city shall continue in the highest renown, while it observes the polity of LYCURGUS.* This he took in writing and sent to Sparta. He afterwards sacrificed a second time to Apollo; and having taken a solemn leave of his friends and his son, he determined with himself to put an end to his life by fasting; that the Lacedæmonians might never have it in their power to free themselves from the oath which he had taken from them. Plutarch expresses himself in very high terms with respect to the death of LYCURGUS. He cries it up as one of the noblest instances of patriotism which is to be met with in ancient history. Because, says he, the legislator secured a double point by this manner of dying; he put a most honorable end to a virtuous and well-spent life, and he affixed his death as a seal to his laws, which he left as his last will and testament to his country. He tells us likewise, that his bones were carried home to Sparta, and buried under a plain tomb, which, as a mark of divine favour, was afterwards blasted with lightning; an accident peculiar to our LYCURGUS and the poet Euripides. The Spartans, to do honor to his memory, erected a temple to him, and sacrificed annually thereat.

BUT

BUT after all this pompous account, Plutarch himself acknowledges that authors are not well agreed, how or where this great and good man dyed. Some say, that he ended his days at Cirrha ; Apollonius affirmed that he dyed at Elis ; Timæus and Aristoxenus agree, that he finished his days in Crete. And the latter says, that the inhabitants shewed his tomb. Aristocrates the son of Hipparchus wrote also that he dyed in Crete ; but he added, that by the direction of LYCURGUS, the persons with whom he lodged, burned his body, and scattered the ashes thereof in the air and on the sea, that they might never be transported to Lacedæmon ; to prevent the people of all possibility of apprehending themselves to be, on any pretence, released from their oath.

HE left behind him one son, whose name was Antiorus ; who dying without issue, his race became extinct. His relations and friends held an annual assembly in commemoration of the deceased, and that they might therein discourse of, and exhort each other to the imitation of his virtues. The days of this meeting were, in honor of the legislator, filed Lycurgides.

A few reflections are yet necessary upon a life so useful and worthy to be scanned. Plutarch makes LYCURGUS in all things a perfect Hero ; and alledges his behaviour as a proof that the wise man, so often

ten described, and so much commended by Philosophers, was not a meer ideal character, unattainable by human nature. He is very particular as to the salutation of the prophets at Delphi, which he says, ran in these words, *Welcome, beloved of God, and rather God than man.* This Oracle was certainly very famous in Greece, and generally speaking, believed; otherwise Socrates would not have quoted it in his defence; or Plutarch have urged it so often as a full answer to all the calumnies raised against this Hero. Yet something may be said, not greatly to the reputation of the oracle, that this was all contrivance, in order to bring about, what otherwise could never have been brought about, the imposition of his severe laws upon the Spartans. It is very probable that he took this hint from the conduct of Minos, who ascribed his laws to Jupiter. But from whomsoever he took it, an ancient author of great note affirms, that the responses of the Oracle were framed by his wit, and procured by his money. And Lyfander knew afterwards how to make Apollo speak kindly, as well as LYCURGUS; and so did Philip of Macedon. It is clear that our law-giver depended chiefly on the people's apprehending his institutions to be divine. For this cause he would never suffer his laws to be put in writing, but trusted them to the memory, that they might at once make the greater impression, and give the government greater power. Plutarch affords us an instance of this. He says that by

a Rhetra

a Rhetra of LYCURGUS, the people had power to assent to, or dissent from, what was proposed to them by the kings and senate. But when by degrees they extended this power, and began to gloss upon the laws, to assent to one part of them, and to dissent from another, the kings and senate, to be even with them in their own way, added a new clause to the Rhetra, to this purpose, that if the people should offer any cross proposal, then the senate and kings might reject it. Which clause, by dint of a little of their legislator's art, they imposed as a genuine injunction ; and thereby strengthen their own authority at the expence of the people.

MOST politicians have held LYCURGUS' invention of a senate to have been a most excellent contrivance. Plato was so much charm'd with it, that he files the author a divine spirit residing in an human nature. yet Aristotle, who was an excellent politician, found great fault with that institution. He thought it unreasonable that senators should be made for life, because frequently men's abilities decay : so that instead of being able to mind public affairs, they become unfit to transact those of their respective families. He was likewise offended, that they were left without controul. For he judged, that as all men were liable to errors, so all men ought to be accountable for them ; especially if their errors might any way affect the state.

THE

THE last act of LYCURGUS, of which we have any certainty, is his sending the Oracle from Delphi to Sparta, signifying the approbation given by Apollo to all his laws. That he starved himself there, is improbable. But that he returned no more to his country, seems to be perfectly agreeable to his manner of acting. For he was extremely ambitious of being thought somewhat more than man, as appears from the whole tenor of his behaviour. And his life could never have been concluded by an act more shining, than that of quitting the supreme power, when his country-men unanimously desired that he should retain it. This spoke him truly disinterested, and shewed plainly, that he sought not any other reward for the services which he rendered to Sparta, than the glory of having served her.

WE should be wanting in justice to the memory of this great legislator, should we omit those beautiful verses which Mr. Thomson, in his poem called *Liberty*, has inscribed to his honor.

———— Spread on Eurotas' Bank,
Amid a circle of soft-rising hills,
The patient Sparta stood ; the sober, hard,
And man-subduing city : which no shape
Of pain could conquer, nor of pleasure charm.
LYCURGUS there built, on the solid base
Of equal life, so well a temper'd state ;

Where

Where mix'd each government, in such just poise ;
 Each pow'r so checking and supporting each,
 That firm for ages and unmov'd, it stood
 The fort of Greece ! Without one giddy hour,
 One shock of faction, or of party-rage.
 For, drain'd the springs of wealth, corruption there
 Lay wither'd at the root. Thrice happy land !
 Had not neglected art, with weedy Vice
 Confounded, sunk. But if Athenian arts
 Lov'd not the foil ; yet there the calm abode
 Of Wisdom, Virtue, philosophic Ease,
 Of manly Sense, and Wit, in frugal phrase
 Confin'd, and press'd into Laconic force.
 There too, by rooting thence still-treacherous Self,
 The public and the private grew the same ;
 The children of the nursing public all,
 And at its table fed : for THAT they toil'd,
 For THAT they liv'd entire, and even for THAT
 The tender mother urg'd her son to die.



C H A P. X.
 Of S O L O N.

SOLON was in every respect formed to make a figure in the Athenian commonwealth. He was noble by birth, if not more ; for he descended lineally from Codrus, who devoted his life, to save the state he governed. The name of his father was Euphorion,

ion, or, as most writers affirm, Exceffides, who, notwithstanding his liberality, and the nobility of his descent, was not considerable in Athens. His mother was nearly related to the mother of Pisistratus, and he had a brother whose name was Dropides, who was Archon the year after himself. We are told that he was born at Salamis. However, that seems to be doubtful from some verses of his composition, which we shall have occasion to quote.

As honorable as his family was, the generosity of his father left SOLON in no very happy condition. This, as is generally believed, engaged him in the business of merchandize. Tho' he might otherwise have subsisted well enough by the assistance of his friends. But this did not suit that greatness of soul which he inherited. He chose therefore to travel, and follow the occupation of a merchant, that he might live independent at home at his return, and not suffer that house to receive favours and kindnesses, whose custom it had been to bestow them. The truth is, that SOLON was never rich, it may be because he always honest. Something of this sort may seem to be implied in the following verses, which are accounted excellent,

Many unjust grow rich, and pious poor ;
We would not change our Virtue for their store ;
For constant Virtue is a solid base ;
Riches from man to man uncertain pass.

IN his youth he was mightily addicted to poetry. And, as he was in those days unconfined, and had no very weighty affairs upon his hands, he wrote and published a great many poems. Certain it is that all his performances this way deserve the highest commendation. His language is always pure, his thoughts alike delicate and clear, his subjects useful and sublime. Therefore Plato had just reason to say, that if he had finished all his poems, and particularly the history which he brought out of Egypt, and had taken time to revise and correct them as others did, neither Homer, Hesiod, nor any other of the ancient poets would have been more eminent.

As he was an excellent poet himself, he had a just and high idea of the power of verse, which he thought capable of making the strongest impressions upon the mind of man. Yet he was a great orator, and wrote in prose with peculiar neatness of expression and perspicuity. It is evident both from the life and writings of this great man, that he was a person not only of exalted Virtue, but of a most pleasant and agreeable temper. He loved society, and made it his business to promote the welfare thereof. He considered men as men; and kept both their capacity for Virtue and their proneness to evil in his view; adopting the laws, which he afterwards made, so as to strengthen and support the one, and to check and keep under the other. His institutions are there-

fore as remarkable for their sweetness and practicability, as those of Lycurgus are for their harshness and severity. But this general judgment may be thought premature in this place. We shall therefore return to our narration.

It is plain from the actions and writings of SOLON, that he was a disinterested patriot. The Megarensians had lately taken Salamis from the Athenians, and had cut off such numbers of them, that the latter, despairing of success, and dispirited with the mighty losses which they had sustained, made a law that it should be capital for any one to propose the recovery of that place. This shameful decree grieved SOLON to the heart. He therefore composed an Elegy consisting of an hundred verses, to inflame the minds of the people against the Megarensians, who had dispossessed them of that valuable island. Having digested this Elegy thoroughly in his mind, he ran into the market-place with all the air of madness and distraction, with his night-cap on his head, and ascending the stool of the common crier, repeated with great vehemence the Elegy that he had composed to the people who gathered round him. The poem began thus,

“ From Salamis behold a Crier come,

“ Who brings you news, in nervous verses, home.”

But the most nervous strokes in this celebrated poem, were the following verses,

“ Rather

" Rather than Athens, would I owe my birth
 " To Pholegondrian, or Sicinian earth ;
 " Since men will say, wherever I am tost,
 " He's of that dastard race, who Salamis have lost."

It ended thus,

" Let us to Salamis renew our claim,
 " And, with the isle restor'd, restore our fame."

PISISTRATUS, who, as we observed before, was his near relation, mixed himself with the crowd, which gathered round this pretended madman. He by his persuasive eloquence heightened that martial rage which SOLON had kindled by his verses ; so that on a sudden, the sentiments of the Athenians were wholly changed, and they determined to assert their right to Salamis, and decreed a war accordingly.

It is not easy to say who was appointed commander in chief of this expedition. Some say, SOLON, and that Pisistratus accompanied him, others, that Pisistratus went general, and that SOLON assisted him with his advice.

THERE are various accounts of the manner by which Salamis was again reduced under the Athenian power. The most current story is, that SOLON coming with Pisistratus to Colias, and finding the women busy there in celebrating, according to custom the feast of Ceres, sent a confident of his to

Salamis, who pretending to be no friend to that people, told the inhabitants that if they had a mind to seize the fairest of the Athenian ladies, they might do it by passing over to Colias. The Megarensians, giving easy credit to what this man said, presently fitted out a ship; which SOLON perceiving from the opposite shore, immediately dismissed the women, and having dressed a sufficient number of beardless youths in female habits, under which they every one concealed a dagger, he sent them to the sea-side to dance and divert themselves, as the women were wont to do. When those who came from Salamis drew near the coast, and saw these young people skipping up and down, they strove who should leap first out of the vessel, and, running one and all to catch these damsels, their ship was surprized, themselves murdered, and the Athenians embarking on board their vessel, sailed immediately to Salamis and took it. Polyænus has inserted this relation, and Plutarch also admits that it was the current account.

THE last quoted author tells us however, that others had related it after this manner: the first thing SOLON did, after he was appointed director of the expedition, was to consult the Oracle of Apollo at Delphi, from whom he received this response,

“ Let sacrifice be to those heroes paid,
 “ Who under the Asopian ground are laid,
 “ And dead are by the setting-sun survey’d.

SOLON.

SOLON took upon him to explain this dark prediction, and hit upon the right interpretation. He guessed that the heroes mentioned by the Oracle were Periphemus and Cychris. He sailed therefore by night to Salamis, and offered at their tombs. This being performed, he gathered a body of five hundred Athenian volunteers, who, in case they succeeded, were to have the government of the island among them. These embarked in a galley of thirty oars, and in a considerable number of fishing-boats, and setting sail in the evening, arrived the day following in a bay of the isle of Salamis which looked towards Euboea. The next morning the whole island was alarmed, tho' they did not well know on what account. At last the Athenian galley was descried. The Megarenians thereupon manned out a stout ship, which, doubling the cape in order to attack the galley, was on a sudden surrounded by SOLON's armed boats, and quickly taken. The Athenians, having put to death all the men found in this vessel, filled it with their choicest youths dressed in Megarenian habits. This procured them an easy entrance into the port, where when they arrived, they made all imaginable haste on shore, and attacked those who came to welcome them as their friends. In the mean time the remainder of the Athenians marched by land and attacked the city on the other side with such fury, that it was speedily taken. In memory of this extraordinary event, they instituted a solemn feast,

feast, during which an Athenian ship came privately, as it were, into the harbour, and the people running down to meet it, an armed man leaped on shore, and ran towards the promontory Sciradium, as if to join his companions who had marched by land. Near this place there stood a temple to Mars, which was supposed to have been erected by SOLON as a memorial of this victory, which put the Athenians in possession of the whole island. The rest of the Megarensians retired to their own country, in virtue of a treaty concluded with SOLON.

THE Megarensians so highly resented the loss of Salamis, that, notwithstanding the treaty, they presently sent new forces thither, against whom the Athenians fought with various fortune. At last it was decreed to leave this dispute to the Lacedæmonians, who commissioned the five following persons, viz. Critolaides, Amompharctus, Hypsechidas, Anaxilas, and Cleomenes, to hear both parties. SOLON pleaded on this occasion the cause of his country, and some have suggested that he practised a little fraud to make it go the better. They say, that finding the following verse in Homer,

“ Ajax from Salamis twelve frigates brought,”

he interpolated another, to the following purpose,

“ And rang’d his troops where the Athenians
fought.”

From which he would have inferred, that Salamis,
even

even at that time, belonged to the Athenians. But the friends of SOLON assert this to be an idle story, and their great orator made use of quite another proof. He made it appear, say they, that Philæus and Euryfaces, the sons of Ajax, settled at Athens, and being received into the number of citizens, gave up that island to the Athenians; Philæus becoming so considerable amongst them, that one of their wards took its name from him. He urged farther, that the persons buried in Salamis lay with their faces to the West, agreeable to the custom of the Athenians, and directly contrary to that of the Megarensians, who turned the faces of their dead toward the East; and that moreover only one person was laid in a grave, which likewise corresponded with the practice of the Athenians, and differed from the Megarensian custom, which was to bury three or four in one grave. It would be needless to trouble the reader with any farther circumstances of this debate. Let it suffice then to say, that we are informed by Ælian, that SOLON carried his cause, not by the arts of a fallacious eloquence, but by the force of strong argument urged in plain and perspicuous terms.

On the return of SOLON to Athens he was highly extolled by the people, to whom he quickly afforded a new occasion of admiring his wisdom. It happened that the inhabitants of Cirrha, a town seated in the bay of Corinth, after having by re-
peated

peated incursions wasted the territory of Delphi, besieged the city itself from a greedy desire of making themselves masters of the mighty riches contained in the temple of Apollo. Advice of this being sent to the Amphictyons, who were the states-general of Greece, SOLON advised that this matter should be universally resented, and that all the Grecian states should immediately join in saving the Delphic Oracle, and punishing the impiety of the Cirrhæans. With this the council immediately complied, and decreed a general war against that people. SOLON was not however appointed general of this expedition, nor did he command the troops of his own country. Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon was the chief commander. And Alcmaeon was general of the Athenian quota. SOLON went however as counsellor or assistant to Cleisthenes; and it was by his advice that the war was conducted to a prosperous issue. For when the Grecian army had besieged Cirrha some time without any great sign of success, Apollo was consulted, who answered them in this manner;

“ In vain you hope to take the place, before

“ The sea's blue waves roll o'er the hallowed shore.

THIS response struck the army with surprise, from which SOLON extricated them by advising Cleisthenes to consecrate solemnly the whole territories of Cirrha to the Delphic Apollo. Whence it would follow that the sea must wash the sacred coast. Pau-

sanus

Sanctus tells us, that he made use of another stratagem, which was this ; he caused the channel of the river Plisus to be turned, which ran through the city of Cirrha, hoping thereby to have distressed the inhabitants. But, they having a great many wells, his scheme did not thoroughly succeed. As soon as he perceived this, he caused a great number of Hellebore roots to be sliced and thrown into the Plisus, and when the water was thoroughly impregnated with the juice of these roots, he caused the river to be turned back into its old channel. The Cirrhæans overjoyed at the sight of running water, came down in troops and drank eagerly thereof, upon this an epidemic flux ensued, and the citizens, no longer able to defend the walls, by their own weakness gave the enemy power to master the place. Some authors have attributed this Stratagem to Clysthenes, because he commanded in chief, and SOLON was no more than his counsellor. On the reduction of the place, the inhabitants were severely punished, and Cirrha became henceforward the arsenal of Delphi.

WHEN SOLON returned home from this expedition, he found all things out of order. The remnant of Cylon's faction began to gather strength, and to excite mighty disturbances in the city. The pretence of religion enabled them to do all this. They gave out confidently, that all the misfortunes, which the republic had met with, had their source from the anger
of

of the Gods, occasioned by the impious cruelty of Megacles and his faction. It happened that the loss of Salamis a second time coincided with this clamour. And now, as many writers report, Epimenides the Cretan came and lustrated the city. This is highly probable, if there was sufficient authority to fix his arrival at Athens so low as this sedition must have happened. But to return to the proper subject of our history.

SOLON interposed on this occasion, and persuaded those who were styled execrable, to abide a trial. To this when they had consented, three hundred persons were chosen to judge them. One Myron of the Phlyensian ward took the prosecution upon him. This he did with such effect, that the three hundred condemned such of Megacles's faction as were living, to perpetual banishment; and caused the bones of such as were dead to be taken up and cast without the limits of their country. Thus was the sedition appeased, and Athens at rest once more.

THE turbulent disposition of the inhabitants of Attica, would not suffer them to remain long in quiet. They began therefore to be out of humour with the constitution, tho' they could not agree how it should be mended. These disputes divided the Athenians into three parties, the Diacrii, the Pediai, and the Paral. The first of these were the inhabitants of the
hilly

hilly country, who declared positively for perfect Democracy. The second, dwelling in the lower part of the country, and being far more opulent, were for an oligarchy. For they supposed that the government would then be, for the most part in their own hands. The third party, living on the coast, were men of moderate principles, and in consequence thereof, desired a mixt government.

IN the midst of these debates, there sprung up a new cause of trouble. The rich taking advantage of the laws, oppressed and enslaved the poorer sort, in such a manner that they were unable to bear it. The meaner people, as Plutarch tells us, being indebted to the rich, either tilled their grounds, and paid them the sixth part of the produce, or engaged their bodies for their debts. So that some were made slaves at home, and many sold abroad. Nay to such a pitch was this mischief grown, that many sold their children to pay their creditors; and others in despair quitted Attica; and retired elsewhere. Such however, as had more spirit than the rest, were for throwing off a yoke too heavy to be borne. These began to look out for a leader, declaring openly enough that they intended to make a thorough change in the government; to free such as their creditors had brought into bondage; and to make a repartition of the lands.

IN this desperate situation the citizens in general cast their eyes upon SOLON. Those who were in the greatest fear of what might happen from the present troubles, were for exalting him to the sovereignty. Nay, the most prudent Athenians, when they considered how difficult a thing it would be to reform so disordered a commonwealth by law and reason, inclined to have him created prince. It was likewise asserted that the Oracle of Apollo advised the same thing, in the following response directed to SOLON,

“ Assume the helm, the ship with prudence guide,
“ And thousands will assist to stem the tide.”

WHAT rendered SOLON so very popular, was a saying of his, which all liked, and few understood. It was this, EQUALITY BREEDS NO STRIFE. This the rich interpreted of dignity and power; the poor of riches and estate. Those therefore who agreed in nothing else, were unanimous in their respect towards him. The rich were contented to submit to his decisions, because he was himself a man of fortune. And the poor had nothing to apprehend from one so mild in temper, and so remarkably honest.

THE private friends of SOLON encouraged him to lay hold of so fair an opportunity of assuming the regal dignity; adding, that it was a shame for so wise a man to be frightened with a name, and to reject a legal sovereignty, because it resembled tyranny.

This

This great man withstood alike the desires of the many, and the persuasions of the few. He assured the former, that he would never become the master of his country-men. And he told the latter that how fair a spot soever tyranny might seem, it had this misfortune, that there was no passage out of it. When his intimates laughed at this resolution of his, and quoted the example of Tynondas the tyrant of Eubœa, and of Pittacus at that time prince of Mytelene, he contented himself with a poetical epistle to Phocus, who seems to have pressed him most, to shew the steadiness of his resolution ;

“ That I have Athens spar’d, preserv’d my fame,

“ Nor soil’d my glory with a tyrant’s name :

“ That when I might have kill’d, I chose to save, }
 “ I blush not—For I think the action brave, }
 “ And thus have more atchiev’d than most men }
 have.”

It was upon this occasion that SOLON shewed a spirit of patriotism, which perhaps never had its equal. He condescended so far as to make use of fraud for the good of others, and with an uncommon greatness of soul dissembled with, and cheated both parties, that he might save all. If he would have accepted the tyranny, he had immediately acquired whatever he could wish, besides the power of doing great good to his country. But he refused this, as far as it might have benefited himself ; and yet took upon him all the care and trouble of a prince,

to serve the people. Thus he demonstrated that neither ambition, fear, nor indolence had any share in his resolution.

HE was chosen Archon without having recourse to lots, and when he was chosen, he disappointed the hopes of both parties. Wherever he found things tolerably well under the old constitution, he refused to alter them at all; and was at extraordinary pains to explain the reasons and the necessity of the changes which he did make, laying this down as a maxim, "That those laws will be best observed, which power and justice equally support." He was a perfect judge of human nature, and sought to rule men by shewing them that it was their interest to obey, and not by attempting to force them upon what he himself esteemed right. Therefore to a person who asked him, "Whether he had given the Athenians the best laws in his power?" he answered, "I have established the best that they could receive." Knowing well that it was impossible to please all, he made it his utmost care not greatly to displease any; whence it followed, that none sought to abrogate the laws which he gave them.

As to the main occasion of the sedition, viz. the oppressed state of the meaner sort, he certainly took it away in a great measure by a contrivance which

which he filed *Sisachthia*, that is, A Discharge. But what this was, authors are not agreed on. Some say, that he releas'd all debts then in being, and prohibited for the future the making any man's body liable for a debt. Others affirm that the poor were eas'd, not by cancelling their debts, but by lowering the interest, and encreasing the value of money; a Mina, which before was worth seventy-three Drachms only, being by him made equal to an hundred; which was of great advantage to the debtor, and did the creditor no hurt at all. But after all, it is more probable that the *Sisachthia* was a total discharge or remission; otherwise SOLOON would hardly have boasted in his verses, that he by this had removed the many marks of mortgages, which had been every where frequent. For the Athenians had a custom of hanging up billets, to shew that houses were engaged for such or such a sum of money; that he had freed from apprehension such as had been driven to despair; called home exiles, whom the dread of their creditors had kept abroad 'till they had forgotten their native language; and delivered from bondage such as were slaves in their native soil.

IN the midst of all this glory, an unlucky accident befel him, which for a time hurt his reputation, and had almost overturned all his schemes. Conon, Clinias, and Hipponicus, his intimate friends, having been consulted by him on an oration, which

he had prepared, tending to engage the people to consent to the discharge of debts, on a promise that he would attempt nothing as to lands; these men betraying the trust reposed in them, borrowed great sums of money, and purchased estates before the edict came out. This had the appearance of a jobb, and was accordingly at first thought to have been the effect of connivance, if not of design. But this aspersions was presently wiped off, when it appeared that SOLON himself was a sufferer to the amount of, some say, five talents, others seven, and others fifteen, which he had lent out at interest, and which in consequence of his own law, he lost. His friends however could never recover their credit, but were for ever stigmatized with the opprobrious appellation of *Chreocopidæ*, or Debt-finkers.

THE Athenians however were now as little pleased with SOLON's management, as with their former condition. The rich and the poor were equally dissatisfied. The former thought that he had done too much in cancelling the debts due to them. And the latter thought that he had done too little, because he had not divided the lands of Attica equally among them. It is from SOLON himself that we have this account, and we have it in his usual manner, that is, in verse;

“ I was your darling heretofore, but now

“ Askant you view me with contracted brow ;

“ Whoe'er

“ Who’er, besides me, had obtain’d your grace,
“ Must have obtain’d a stipend with his place.”

YET in a short time they had sense enough to discover that they were in the wrong, and SOLON in the right. At least they gave him a more public, if not a more general, token of their repentance, than they had shewn of their displeasure. For they instituted a solemn sacrifice in testimony of their acquiescing under the institution, and called it *Sisachthia*. At the same time they unanimously elected SOLON legislator of Athens ; and gave him power not only to make laws, but to alter and new-model their constitution as he thought proper.

THE first thing this great man did, after his country had conferred on him so extraordinary an office, was to cancel the laws of Draco, excepting those only which related to murder. This proceeding was perfectly right ; for there is nothing more dishonorable, and at the same time more dangerous to a state, than latent laws, or such as are grown into disuse and yet in being. This was then the case of Draco’s. Their severity rendered them hateful ; therefore SOLON annulled their authority : Nor would he suffer his own institutions to bear the same name.

It was the desire of SOLON to act in all respects moderately : he therefore determined to place the
dernier

dernier resort in the people, and to leave the execution of the government in the nobility. With this view he divided the people into four degrees or ranks ; the first of these consisted of such whose stock amounted to five hundred Medimni, or measures of fruit. These he stiled Pentacosmedimni, and they paid a talent to the public treasury. The second class consisted of such as were able to keep an horse, or were worth three hundred measures. These were stiled Hippodactountes, that is, bound to find an horse. The third class was made up of such as were worth two hundred measures. They were called Zengites, which implies a middle rank ; because they stood between the knights of the lowest order of the people, who were called Thetes. These were not admitted to any office, but yet had a vote in the general assembly, which was thought at first a matter of little consequence. Hence the nobility gave themselves no pain about it. But in after times it was found of the highest consequence, as SOLON foresaw it would be. The reason of it was this. SOLON purposely drew up his laws in obscure terms, and allowing in all cases an appeal to the people, doubts often arose, appeals were consequently frequent, and hence, tho' the common sort could not attain to magistracy, yet they had a mighty power in the state.

HEREIN consisted the ancient Democracy of Athens. But because that kind of government is in
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its nature more apt to change than any other, SOLON, in order to secure it, established two checks, or, if we may be allowed to make use of his metaphor, threw out two anchors to fix it. The first of these was the court of Areopagus, which, tho' settled long before, had lost much of its power by Draco's preferring the Ephetæ. In ancient times, and 'till SOLON became legislator, it consisted of such persons as were most conspicuous in the state for their wealth, power, and probity. But SOLON made it a rule that such only should have a seat therein as had served the office of Archon. This had the effect which he proposed. It raised the reputation of the Areopagites very high, and rendered their decrees so wonderfully venerable, that none contested or repined at them for a long course of ages. The second stay of the Athenian common-wealth was the senate, which SOLON made to consist of four hundred, an hundred out of each tribe. These had the prior cognizance of all that was to come before the people; and nothing could be proposed to the general assembly, 'till it had been digested by them. So that, as far as he was able, he provided against a thirst of arbitrary power in the rich, and a desire of licentious freedom in the commons; the Areopagus being a check upon the former, as the senate was a curb on the latter.

SOLON himself was so well satisfied with what he had done, that he celebrated it in words to this purpose

pose, which shew at once what regard he had for the ancient constitution, and for the people in general ;

“ I to the commons weight enough allow’d,
 “ Robb’d none of honor, and on none bestow’d ;
 “ Those, who in pow’r or wealth outshone the rest,
 “ Were by my laws within just limits press’d ;
 “ And thus the property of each conserv’d,
 “ Nor high nor low from equal justice swerv’d.”

THE general frame of the republic thus settled, he gave the Athenians next a body of laws, of which we have still some remaining. These were so much esteemed that the Romans sent Ambassadors to Athens to transcribe them for the use of their state. As these transcribed laws became the basis of the Roman jurisprudence, which has since been received almost throughout Europe under the name of the Civil law, we may with reason affirm that many of SOLON’s constitutions are yet in force.

WE will begin with one of the most extraordinary statutes enacted by this law-giver, the understanding of which has given politicians the most trouble. We are obliged to Aulus Gellius for preserving to us the very words of the law. It runs thus ;

“ IF through discord and dissension any sedition
 “ or insurrection rend the people into two parties,
 so

“so that with exasperated minds they take arms and
“fight against each other; he, who at such a time and
“in such a case, shall not engage himself on one side
“or other, but shall endeavour to retire and separate
“himself from the evils fallen on his country; let
“such an one, losing houses, country and estate, be
“sent out an exile.”

PLUTARCH explains the reason of it, and so does the author first cited, who highly commends it, and says, that tho’ at first sight it may seem dangerous to the public peace, yet in truth it was calculated to support it. For the wise and just, as well as the envious and wicked, being obliged to chuse some side, matters were easily accommodated. Whereas, if the latter only, as is generally the case with other cities, had the management of factions, they would for private reasons, be continually kept up, to the great hurt if not the utter ruin, of the state.

THE rules which SOLON gave for bestowing heiresses have been very harshly censured. We will put them together, that the reader may see the general intent of the legislator. “The next of kin to an
“heiress may require her in marriage, and she may
“likewise require him. If he refuses, let him pay five
“hundred drachms for her dowry. If he who possesses
“such an inheritrix by law, as her lord and master,
“be impotent, let it be lawful for her to admit any
“of

“ of her husband’s nearest kindred ; and let him, who
“ has married an heiress, be obliged to visit her three
“ times a month at least.”

THE intent of these injunctions was, that neither a rich heiress might carry the estate out of the family, nor a poor one be in danger of marrying below her birth. As to the law allowing a woman to have recourse to some of her husband’s relations, it may possibly have been contrived to prevent persons, who knew themselves to be impotent, from marrying such heiresses, and depriving the next relation of his due.

HE enacted that a bride should bring with her no more than three gowns, and some slight household-goods of little value ; and that the bride and bridegroom should be shut into a room together, and there eat a quince. This was to be the fauce of matrimony, and to teach them to bear with the same placid behaviour as then, the little acrimonies which they would sometimes meet with in that state. The bride likewise brought an earthen pan, wherein barley was parched, to the house of her husband. This vessel, which was called Phrogeteon, signified that she undertook the business of the house, and would do her part towards providing for the family.

HE ordained that none should revile the dead, even tho’ provoked by the children of the deceased.

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This law procured him great applause, and had certainly in it much both of humanity and policy. He directed that none should revile any living person, at sacred solemnities, in the courts of justice, or at public spectacles, on pain of paying three Drachmæ to the person reviled, and two more to the public treasury. He likewise made a law against slander. This great man knew very well that a general law against anger could never be put in execution. He therefore contented himself with providing that the passions of private men should not dishonor religious ceremonies, the justice of the state, or public diversions; and that no passion should excuse calumny.

BEFORE SOLON's time, citizens had not the power of making Wills, but a man's goods and estates went, whether he would or not, to his heir at law. But SOLON having abrogated this custom, enacted that such, as had no children, might leave their estates to whom they pleased, preferring friendship to family, and the ties of affection to those of consanguinity. But then he added this proviso to his law, that the maker of such a Will should be in the full possession of his senses, not wrought upon by sickness, potions, bondage, or the blandishments of a wife. Wherein he shewed his great wisdom, by making no distinction between actual constraints and those imposed by art; both having the same power of putting a man out of his right mind. He likewise ordained

that adopted persons should make no will; but as soon as they had children lawfully begotten, then they were at liberty to return into the family whence they were adopted, or if they continued in it to their death, then they were to return back the estates to the relations of the persons who adopted them.

WITH respect to women and their expences he made the following laws. When a woman travelled, he permitted her not to carry with her more than three gowns, nor to carry any provisions above the value of an Obolus; her panner or basket was not to be above a cubit in bigness, nor was she allowed to travel in the night, except in a chariot, and by torch-light. He forbade them likewise to tear their cheeks, to procure mourning and lamentations at the funerals of such as they had no relation to. He allowed not that an ox should be sacrificed at funerals; nor that more than three garments should be buried with them. And he forbade women to approach the monuments of persons not related to them, except at the time of their interment. These laws were particularly transcribed by the Romans,

THE liberty, and other emoluments which were enjoyed at Athens, drawing thither a great concourse of people from other parts, SOLON foresaw that this would have bad consequences, if some means were not devised to make these people industrious. He
therefore

therefore established by law, that a son should be released from all obligation to maintain an aged father, in case that father had not bred him up to some trade. He vested the court of Areopagus with a power of examining how people lived, and of punishing idleness. He allowed every man a right to prosecute another for that crime, and in case a person was convicted of it thrice, he suffered *Atimia*, or infamy. Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus agree that a law of this kind was in use in Egypt. It is probable therefore that SOLON, who was thoroughly acquainted with the learning of that nation, borrowed it from them; a practice for which the Greeks were famous, tho' at the same time they stiled those nations barbarous, from whom their own laws and policy were borrowed. Pity it is, that such a law were not enforced in England, where the idle persons relieved by their several parishes vastly exceed in number the impotent and helpless.

THE husband, who surprized his wife in adultery was allowed by SOLON to kill the adulterer. Whosoever ravished a woman, was fined an hundred drachmæ. He, who debased himself so low as to become a pander, except to a common woman, suffered a fine of twenty drachmæ. A man was forbidden to put either his daughter or sister to the scandalous trade of prostitution, unless he first surprized her with a man. He enacted that no adul-

terefs should be permitted to adorn her person, and in case ſhe did, he gave liberty to any that thought fit, to tear her cloaths off her back, and to beat her into the bargain.

To the victor at the Iſthmian games SOLON adjudged the reward of five hundred drachmæ: and to the victor at the Olympic one hundred. He contracted the rewards beſtowed upon the wreflers, eſteeming ſuch gratuities uſeleſs and even dangerous, tending to encourage idleneſs by putting men upon waſting that time in exerciſes, which ought to be ſpent in providing for their families.

HE directed five drachmæ to be given to him who ſhould catch an he-wolf, and one to him who ſhould take a female of that ſpecies. The former was the price of an ox, the latter of a ſheep. Attica was then extremely infeſted with thoſe creatures, of which this law cauſed a ſpeedy deſtruction.

WATER being extremely ſcarce at Athens, and in its neighbourhood, he ordained that, where there was a public well, all who lived within an Hippicon, that is, four furlongs of it, ſhould have leave to uſe it. They that lived farther off were obliged to dig wells for themſelves: But if a man digged ten fathom and found no water, then he might fill a pitcher of fix gallons twice a day at his neighbours well; and
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whoever sunk a well, was to take care that it was as far distant from his neighbour's, as it was deep. If a man planted a tree, he was to see that it was five feet distant from his neighbour's, and if it was a fig tree or an olive, nine. An hive of bees was to be thirty feet distant. All these tended to the same end, namely, to prevent one man from trespassing on the property of another.

HE enacted that whosoever refused to maintain his parents, or had wasted his paternal estate, should be deemed infamous. It seems that SOLON did not conceive that a man could be privately bad, and publicly good; that one who neglected his duty to his parents, should preserve it to the state, or be frugal of his country's revenue, who had spent his own.

SUCH as commonly frequented infamous women, he forbade to make orations, believing that men without shame were not to be trusted to speak to the people. Demosthenes highly commended this law, and exhorted the Athenians to take care that it was put in execution, as the surest means to preserve the peace and honor of the republic.

HE forbade a guardian to marry the mother of his ward, and permitted not the next heir to be guardian of the infant. Some say that he forbade likewise a guardian to marry his son to the mother of his ward.

ward : all these were beyond question made to hinder Collusion, and to bar as far as possible the scandalous practice of cheating minors.

HE enjoined gravers to keep no impressions of the seal-rings which they sold : if a man put out the eye of another who had but one eye, he directed that he should lose both his. As to theft, Demosthenes gives us SOLON's law in these words ;

“ If any man steal in the day-time, he may be carried to the eleven officers : if he steal any thing by night, it shall be lawful for any to kill him, or in the pursuit to wound him, and carry him to the eleven officers. Whosoever is convicted of such offences as are liable to chains, shall not be capable of giving bail for his theft, but his punishment shall be death. And if any one steal out of the Lyceum, or the Academy, or Cynoferges, a garment, or a small vessel of wine, or any other thing of little value, or some vessel out of the Gymnasia or havens, he shall be punished with death. But if any man shall be convicted privately of theft, it shall be lawful for him to pay a double value ; and it shall be also at the pleasure of the convicter, besides payment of money, to put him in chains for five days and as many nights, so as that all men may see him bound.”

By his laws, an Archon taken in drink was punished with death. SOLON wisely conceiving that a magistrate guilty of such an offence must be rendered vile and contemptible in the eyes of the people. He decreed that in case a man surprized his wife in adultery, and lived with her afterwards, he should be deemed infamous. He compelled children to be dutiful to their parents; permitting the latter, in case of disobedience, to disinherit and turn them out of doors. He condemned such as avoided going to war, fled from the army, or shewed any other flagrant sign of cowardice, to be expelled the sanctified precincts of the forum, to be ever debarred from wearing a crown or wreath, and from all places of public worship. He appointed it for a statute, that a citizen of Athens should be tried no where but at Athens, and that the eldest citizens should first make orations, but with the greatest modesty, and without any endeavours to stir the passions of the people; he ordered that afterwards all should speak according to their seniority, and have leave to deliver their opinions freely on any matter in debate. But he prohibited young men, however wise they might be esteemed, either to become magistrates, or to make orations to the people.

It was a maxim established by this wise legislator, that the common people should be punished slowly, but magistrates and persons in authority suddenly, assigning

signing for it this reason; that the former might be punished at any time, but that in correcting the latter, where interest and influence might be apprehended, there ought to be no delay. As to funerals the expence of which in his time was excessive, Demosthenes recites his directions in these words;

“LET the dead bodies be laid out within the house, according as the deceased gave order, and the day following, before sun-rise, be carried forth. While the body is carrying to the grave, let the men go before, the women follow. It shall not be lawful for any woman to enter upon the goods of the dead, and to follow the body to the grave under three score years of age, except such as are within the degree of cousins.” Cicero reports that with respect to sepulchres, he enacted that no man should demolish them or bring any new thing into them, and that such should be punished who defaced any monument erected to the memory of the dead.

FROM these institutions, it appears that his philosophy did not lead him to trespass on those notions of humanity, which were commonly received in his country. He sought to moderate the extravagance of their funerals; but at the same time permitted all reasonable honors to be paid to the memory of the dead.

WE will conclude this account of SOLON's laws with two or three which had more regard to society than to the interest of private persons. He ordained that, if one citizen injured another, any Athenian might have his action against him. Hence it is evident that he regarded every individual as a member of the body politic, which could not be hurt without affecting all the other members. And thus he provided against the power of the great. For tho' a poor man who was injured might think fit to acquiesce; yet a person of equal rank with the aggressor, might, either from a principle of justice or rivalry, commence a prosecution on that account.

SOLON instituted feasts in the common halls, under the title of Public Meals. But he forbid the same person to be entertained often, and ordered such to be fined, as did not come in their turns, ascribing the former offence to greediness, the latter to a contempt of the public. He forbid any strangers to be naturalized at Athens, who were not either perpetual exiles from their own country, or, out of love to Athens, had brought their whole families to settle there, so as to have no interest in another place.

HE provided for the children of those who were slain in the service of the state, by directing that they should be brought up and instructed at the public
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lic charge 'till they were twenty years old. He made but few laws relating to religion ; and against parricides he made none, assigning for it this reason, " That he could scarce believe that any Athenian " would be so wicked."

HE shewed the excellency of his knowledge by correcting the irregularity of the months. For, considering that the course of the moon did not agree with the rising and setting of the sun, but that sometimes she overtook and passed him in the same day, he ordered such a day to be called The last and the first ; attributing that part of the day which preceded the conjunction to the old moon, and that which succeeded it to the new. He ordered the next day to be called Neomenia, or the new moon. And for these alterations he is reckoned by Plutarch to have been the first who understood a verse in Homer, signifying,

" When one month ended, and the next began."

THUS it is a point worthy of observation, that the ancient heroes gained their reputation, as much by arts as arms. Tho' some excelled in valour, and others in wisdom ; yet in all there was an happy mixture of both Minerva's. So Numa, who gave laws to Rome, reformed the Roman kalendar. And in succeeding times, Julius Cæsar, when he had reduced his enemies, purged away those errors which
were

were grown hoary amongst his country-men, and is celebrated, not only as a lover of astronomical learning, but as a consummate master thereof, for his times. And such was SOLON. For tho' some have pretended to ascribe to others the honor of introducing astronomy into Greece; yet the first principles of the art certainly came thither with its first planters, and were from time to time cultivated by those who visited Egypt for instruction. Thales the Milesian, and Pythagoras the Samian, were the two great masters who brought the undigested notions of the heavenly system, which hitherto had amused the Greeks, into tolerable form. And this they did by dint of their acquaintance with foreign nations. As to Homer, in whose poems we meet with the first seeds of all the various kinds of ancient literature, we find that he describes the heroical year, as divided, not into months, but into seasons. The returns of seed-time and harvest, the constant revolutions of labor and rest, of the annual returns of fair and foul weather, served well enough to mark the succession of events. And it was therefore an act of judgment in this great poet to make use of these characters in his account of a battle; as he elsewhere introduces Achilles measuring the day, not by hours, but by the more obvious division of morning, noon and evening. We are not to infer from hence that years and months were not known in the time of Homer. For the contrary appears in several passages

fages of his poems, and particularly from the line above-mentioned. Thales divided the year into twelve months, making each month to consist of thirty days, and the year consequently of three hundred and sixty days. But finding that this year did not answer the motion of the sun, he intercalated thirty days at the end of two full years: which intercalation, because it happened at the beginning of the third year, some have mistaken for a triennial period. It is easy to perceive that this method of Thales must in a short time have introduced great confusion there being a redundancy of almost ten days in a year.

SOLON discover'd this, and not only discover'd it, but its cause, at least its principal cause, which was Thales' maxim, that the moon performed her revolution in thirty days. This SOLON found to be false, and the true time was twenty-nine days and an half. This account sets what has been said above in a clear light, and shews with what justice SOLON was applauded for his skill as an Astronomer. Let us see with what dexterity he applied that skill as a legislator. He did not alter the number of months which Thales had fixed, but directed that each of them should be accounted twenty nine or thirty days alternately. By this method a lunar year was formed of three hundred and fifty-four days. But perceiving that this would leave things still in confusion, he invented a method of reconciling it to the solar year, which

which was thus. At the end of two years, he directed a month of twenty two days to be intercalated, and at the end of a second two years, he ordered that a month of twenty three days should be intercalated. Now if we take all these sums together, we shall find that the number of days in SOLON's cycle of four years was one thousand four hundred and sixty one, the fourth part of which is three hundred sixty five and a quarter, the true solar year, as it was then accounted. SOLON likewise engaged the Athenians to divide their months into three parts, called the Beginning, the Middling, and the Ending. Each of these consisted of ten days, when the month was thirty days long, and the last of nine when it was nine and twenty days long. In speaking of the two first parts, they reckoned according to the usual order of numbers, viz. the first day of the moon beginning, the second day of the middling moon, but with respect to the last part of the month, they reckoned backwards; that is, instead of saying the first day of the ending moon, they said the tenth day of the ending moon, and instead of the second, the ninth day, and so on to the last. This is a circumstance which must be carefully noted. For, without being aware of it, 'tis impossible to understand many passages in ancient authors.

SOLON procured his laws to be ratified for an hundred years, and caused them to be conserved in

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different tables. Such as related to private actions, in parallelograms of wood, with cases which reached from the ground, and turned about upon a pin like a wheel, whence they were called Axones. They were placed at first in the Citadel, and then in the Prytanæum, that his people might see them when they pleased ; and some remains there were of them even in Plutarch's time. Such as concerned public orders and sacrifices, were contained in triangular tables of stone, called Cyrbes. The Athenian magistrates were sworn to observe both. In time these monuments of his wisdom became so famous, that all public arts were from them named Axones and Cyrbes.

AFTER his laws were promulgated, some or other were coming to him daily to have them explained, to know the reasons on which they were founded, and to advise him to alter this or that, according as their humour or interest led them. These importunities made him so uneasy, that he resolved to travel. For he considered that not to answer these people would argue pride ; and that to answer them would beget great inconveniencies. With this view he bought a ship, and pretending an inclination to trade, prevailed on the Athenians to permit him to be absent for ten years, during which space he hoped that his laws would become familiar to them.

HE departed accordingly, and went first to Egypt, where he conversed with Psenophis the Heliopolitan, and Sonchis the Saite, the most learned priests of that age and country. From these he drew the knowledge of a multitude of things, unheard of by the Greeks, and particularly the situation and condition of the Atlantic island, of which he wrote an account in verse, and which Plato continued.

FROM Egypt he went to Cyprus, where he was extremely well entertained by one of the petty kings. This prince reigned in a little city called Apeia, which signifies high, built by Demophoon the son of Theseus, on an eminence near the river Clarius, but in a soil craggy and barren. SOLON, observing that there was a very pleasant plain below, engaged the king to remove his people thither, and to build a new and larger city for their reception. SOLON himself assisted in the execution of the undertaking which he had projected, and his scheme succeeded so well, that numbers of people, invited by the beauty of the place, came to settle themselves therein; whence the king, whose capital it was, changed its name out of gratitude, and called it Solos.

HE is thought to have visited Thales the Milesian about this time, with whom it is very certain that he had an intimate acquaintance. Plutarch has recorded a very singular passage, which happened on

that occasion. SOLON, enquiring of Thales, Why, considering the happy situation of his affairs, he had neither wife nor children, received no answer to his question for the present. A few days after, Thales introduced a stranger, properly instructed, who said that he came from Athens ten days ago. SOLON immediately asked him what news he brought from thence: "I know of nothing extraordinary (replied "he) except that the whole city celebrated the obsequies of a young man, the son of a citizen most eminent for his virtues, who, it seems, was abroad upon his travels." "Miserable man!" cried SOLON: "But did not you hear his name?" "I did," replied the stranger, "but I have forgot it; this I remember, that he was particularly famous for his wisdom and his justice." "Was it SOLON?" (said our philosopher). "It was," answered the stranger. Upon this the legislator began to beat his head, to weep, and to bemoan himself. But Thales, interposing with a smile, addressed him thus; "These, O SOLON, are the things which make me afraid of marriage and children; since these are capable of affecting even so wise a man as you. Be not however concerned, for this is all a fiction." Whether on this occasion, or on the real loss of a son, is uncertain, SOLON, being desired by a person not to weep, since tears would avail nothing; answered with much humanity and good sense, "And for this cause I weep."

AT Delphi he had an interview with the rest of the Sophists, and the year following, at Corinth, by Periander's invitation. Some think that at this time also he went to Crete, and visited Epimenides. He likewise conferred with Cræsus king of Lydia. Plutarch says, that Æsop the fabulist, was at the court of Cræsus at the same time with SOLON, and that he was extremely concerned when he saw how much the king slighted so great a man. He could not therefore forbear giving SOLON the following short piece of advice, "Let your visits to kings be as seldom or as pleasant as you can." To which our Athenian answered, "No, rather let them be as seldom or as profitable as you can." The love of liberty was so predominant in SOLON, that he could not gainsay so much as in a compliment.

WHILE SOLON was abroad, Athens fell all into confusion again. The three factions before mentioned began to be more troublesome than ever. Lycurgus put himself at the head of the country-people. Megacles, the son of Alcmeon, was the chief of those who lived upon the coast. And Pisistratus placed himself at the head of the poorer sort of people in the city, to protect them, as he pretended, from tyranny. The laws of SOLON were indeed observed; because none of the factions found it for their interest to subvert them. But all looked for a change; and were uneasy 'till it was effected; tho' how to

change for the better, none of them knew, nor pretended to know.

AT this crisis SOLON returned, and his return seemed propitious for his country. All the factions paid their court to him, and affected to shew him the deepest reverence and respect, beseeching him to resume his authority, and to compose the disorders of the state. But this however he declined on account of his age, which, as he said, rendered him unable to speak and act for the public benefit, as he was wont. However, he sent for the chiefs of each party, and spoke to them in the mildest and most pathetic terms; beseeching them not to ruin their common parent, but to prefer the public good to their private interest.

PISISTRATUS, among all the principal persons of Athens, seemed to be the most affected with SOLON's discourses. They were relations, intimate friends, and had a great similitude of dispositions. Pisistratus was exceedingly courteous and affable; and as he was blessed with a fair estate, so he was generous without profusion, and beneficent without ostentation. He had always two or three slaves near him with bags of silver coin. When he saw any man look sickly, or heard that any were dead insolvent, he comforted the one with a proper sum, and buried the other at his own expence. If he perceived people melancholy, he enquired the cause; and if it was poverty, he furnished

furnished them with what might enable them to get bread, but not to live idly. In a word, he had, or seemed to have, all the virtues which could adorn a nobleman. He would not so much as suffer his servants to shut his garden, or orchard-gates; but allowed every body to go in and take what they pleased. His looks were easy and sedate, his language smooth and modest. He seemed a great lover of equality, and a zealous friend to the constitution. SOLON penetrated all these appearances. Yet he did not immediately break with him; but endeavoured to shew him the iniquity of his dissimulation, and would often tell him, "Sir, were it not for your
" ambition, you would be the best citizen in Athens." And when he found that this made no impression upon him, SOLON said the same thing to others, that men might be ware of his designs, and not suffer his virtues to be fatal to his country.

ABOUT this time Thespis, who is generally esteemed the inventor of Tragedy, either introduced or reformed it at Athens, with which the people were mightily charmed. SOLON, who piqued himself upon learning, even in his old age, went to see this new diversion, and after the performance was over, addressed himself to Thespis in these words; "I wonder that you are not ashamed of telling lies before
" so great an audience." Thespis replied that "there
" could be no harm in giving a specious form to
" fallhood,

“falshood, so that it were in jest.” “Ah!” cried SOLON, striking the ground with his staff, “If once
“we are pleased with your falshoods in jest, we
“shall soon have them creep into our more serious
“affairs.”

THE mischief which SOLON apprehended that his kinsman Pisistratus would bring upon the state, was not long before it came to pass. That great politician, perceiving how much the people were at his devotion, resolved to seize the present opportunity of cheating them out of that liberty which they neither knew how to use nor keep. With this view having wounded himself, and (as Herodotus says) the mules which drew his chariot, he lashed them into the market-place, as if pursued by his enemies, and, shewing his bleeding body, besought the people to protect him from those, whom his kindness to them had rendered his implacable enemies. As the people loudly testified their concern, SOLON, who was by this time come to the place, drew near him and, “Son of Hippocrates, you do not act Homer’s
“Ulysses well, since you deceive your fellow-citizens; whereas he, when he had wounded himself, practised only on the enemies of his country. A general assembly was presently convened, wherein Ariston moved that Pisistratus might have a guard of fifty persons armed with clubs. SOLON opposed it. He told the citizens that, if misfortunes beset them,
they

they must not charge the gods with them, but themselves; for that evils were not accidental, but punishments; that crafty persons knew how to dress lies in the vestments of truth, and that before they made innovations, they should well consider the consequences. After him spoke Pisistratus, and the people receiving all he said with loud applause, SOLON contented himself with saying,

“ You doat upon his words and soothing speech.”

THE middling sort of people, adhering unanimously to the proposition of Ariston, and the richest Athenians remaining silent, when they saw how things would go; SOLON took his leave, saying that he was wiser than some, and stouter than others; wiser than those who did not penetrate the design of Pisistratus, and stouter than those who did not oppose it. When he was gone, the assembly proceeded to vote a guard for Pisistratus, but what number is not easily settled. It should seem from Plutarch's account, that he had but fifty. Herodotus does not mention any number at all. Polyænus makes them three hundred. But SOLON himself, in his letter to Epimenides, says expressly, there were four hundred. However it was, he made use of his guard to seize the citadel, which having performed, he, without more ado, assumed the sovereignty. But Polyænus has given us a very singular account of the method which he took, to put it out of the power of the Athenians to defend

send themselves, even against the small number of men under his command. He summoned an assembly to be held at the Anacium, and directed that the people should come thither armed. When they were accordingly come together, Pisistratus harangued them, but in a very low voice. The people complaining that they could not well hear what he said, he pretended that it was the clangor of their arms which drowned his voice, and advised them to lay them down in the portico of a temple. This they did; and Pisistratus then entertained them with a long and eloquent oration. But while they were listening to him with deep attention, the guard of Pisistratus conveyed away their arms. So that when he had done speaking, the Athenians saw themselves naked, and all power of resistance taken from them.

ALL historians agree, that amidst the confusion which followed this transaction, there was an assembly held, wherein SOLON made a speech, inveighing against the meanness of spirit of his countrymen, and inviting them to take arms in defence of their liberty. When he found that nothing would do, he set down his own arms, and contented himself with saying, "To the utmost of my power I have striven for my country and my laws." Plutarch says, that he refused to leave his country: and that on Pisistratus' sending to know who inspired him with boldness enough to treat him in such a manner, he answered,

"My

“My old age.” But other authors say, and with greater probability, that he immediately left the dominion of Athens. At his departure, he wrote the following letter to his friend in Crete ;

SOLON TO EPIMENIDES.

‘**N**EITHER are my laws likely to benefit the Athenians long, nor have you done the city much good by your Lustration. For sacred rites and wise law-givers cannot alone benefit cities, since it is of great consequence of what disposition those are who influence the common people. Sacred and civil laws, if such men execute them well, are profitable, but otherwise of little use. My laws are now in a very indifferent condition, those, in whom the government was lodged, making no opposition to Pisistratus’ designs, abandoned the state. When I fore-saw this, I could not be believed ; the Athenians giving more credit to his flatteries than to my truth. Perceiving this, I laid down my arms before the magazine, and said, that I was wiser than those who did not see that Pisistratus aimed at tyranny, and flouter than those who were afraid to resist him. For this they looked upon SOLON as a Madman. However, I hesitated not to make this protestation before I departed ; Behold, O my country, SOLON ready to vindicate thee in word and deed : they again cried out, that I was mad. Thus finding myself single in opposing Pisistratus, I left them. Let them

‘them still, if they please, guard with their arms this
 ‘their tyrant ; for you must know, my friend, that
 ‘the man very artfully possessed himself of the sover-
 ‘eignty. He complied at first with the same Demo-
 ‘cracy ; afterwards, wounding himself, he came in-
 ‘to the Elieea, exclaiming that he was thus wounded
 ‘by his enemies, desiring that they would grant him
 ‘a guard of four hundred men ; which they, regard-
 ‘less of all I could say, complied with. After this,
 ‘he dissolved the popular government. In vain I la-
 ‘boured to bestow freedom on the meaner sort of peo-
 ‘ple ; since now the people of all sorts are become
 ‘the servants of Pisistratus.’

IN possessing himself of the supreme power in Athens, Pisistratus did not overturn the laws established by SOLON. On the contrary, he did all that in him lay, to provide for their better execution, and lost nothing of that moderation, for which he had been before remarkable. With respect even to the person of SOLON, he preserved for him the highest veneration, and was so much disturbed at his leaving his country, that, to engage him to return, he wrote to him in this manner ;

PISISTRATUS to SOLON.

‘I Am not the only person among the Greeks who
 ‘I have acted in this manner, nor am I without
 ‘right to the kingdom which I possess, being the de-
 scendant

‘scendent of Codrus. That which the Athenians
‘swore to preserve to Codrus and his heirs, and yet
‘took away, I have recovered. I offend neither a-
‘gainst God nor man. I take care to see those laws,
‘which you framed for the Athenians, strictly put in
‘execution, and suffer none to do wrong. I claim
‘no other priviledges, tho’ a Tyrant, than the ho-
‘nor and dignity, and accept no more than what was
‘thought due to the ancient kings. The Athenians
‘indeed pay the tenths of their estates, not to me,
‘but for defraying the expence of the public sacri-
‘fices, the other charges of the commonwealth, and
‘that we may have wherewithal to carry on a war,
‘if we should be engaged in one. I do not at all
‘blame you for discovering my intentions. You did
‘it out of regard to your country, rather than ha-
‘tréd to me. You was ignorant of the form of go-
‘vernment which I mean’d to establish. Had you
‘known it, you would perhaps have borne it, and
‘not gone into banishment. Return however, and
‘believe me without an oath, SOLON shall never
‘suffer hurt from Pisistratus. My very enemies have
‘nothing to charge me with of that kind. If you
‘will be of the number of my friends, you shall be the
‘first: for I never observed any thing of fraud or
‘falshood in you. If you are resolved to continue
‘otherwise, live at Athens as you will: only for our
‘sake do not deprive yourself of your country.”

The Answer was as follows ;

‘ **I** Believe I shall not suffer any harm by you ; for
 ‘ before you was a tyrant, I was your friend ; and
 ‘ at present am no more your enemy than any other
 ‘ Athenian who dislikes tyranny. Whether it be bet-
 ‘ ter for them to be governed by a single person, or
 ‘ by a Democracy, let both parties determine. I pro-
 ‘ nounce you the best of tyrants ; but to return to A-
 ‘ thens I think not fitting, lest I should incur censure,
 ‘ who settled an equality in the Athenian common-
 ‘ wealth, and would not accept of the tyranny. By
 ‘ returning, I should comply with your actions.”

SOLON returned no more to Athens, but died abroad. How old he was at the time of his decease, was not agreed even in the days of Plutarch, who says that Heraclides Ponticus affirmed that he lived a long time after Pisistratus assumed the Sovereignty, whereas Phantias the Ephesian reported that he did not live quite two years after. Ælian agrees pretty well with this computation ; for he says that he died a little after, being decrepid with age. Diogenes Laertius informs us that he reached the age of four-score : but Lucian will have it that he lived an hundred years and upwards. Where he died is another disputable point. Some say it was in Cyprus, others not. One says that he directed his bones to be burned, and the ashes carried to Salamis and scattered all over the
 Island :

Island: another treats this as a fable, but acknowledges at the same time that many eminent writers had given into it, and Aristotle particularly.

THE Athenians, after the death of SOLON, paid him the highest honors, and erected for him in the Forum and at Salamis, a statue of brass, with his hand in his gown, the posture in which he used to speak. And this honor he most certainly deserved, for the mighty services which he had rendered to his country.

THE very last day of SOLON's life, some friends of his, who were sitting in his chamber, fell into discourse, to which he listened with great attention. Being asked the reason of it, he answered, "I do this, that when I have learned whatsoever it is that you dispute about, I may die." A little before his last agonies, hearing his brother's son sing an ode of Sappho, he was so well pleased with it, that he called the young man to him, and bad him teach it to him. The reason of this being also demanded, "It is (returned he) that I may learn, while I am departing out of this life." The writings, which he left behind him, were, his Laws, Orations, Poems, and the Atlantic History unfinished, with his occasional epistles. Among the last is one addressed to the tyrant of Corinth, who was esteemed one of the seven Sages of Greece. It is couched in the following terms ;

SOLON to PERIANDER.

‘**Y**OU fend me word that there are many who
 plot against you. If you should put them all
 ‘to death, it will profit you nothing. Some one
 ‘there may be, of those whom you suspect not, who
 ‘plots against you, either fearing for himself, or dis-
 ‘daining you, or desirous to ingratiate himself with the
 ‘city, tho’ you have done him no injury. It is best,
 ‘if you would be free from jealousy, to acquit
 ‘yourself of the cause. But if you will continue in
 ‘tyranny, take care to provide a greater strength of
 ‘strangers than you have of citizens. So shall you
 ‘not need to fear any man, nor to put any one to
 ‘death.’

THE wisdom, learning and genius of SOLON are exceedingly commended by authors. He is justly cried up as an orator and poet, as a legislator, a warrior, and a Patriot. In fine, ancient and modern writers all agree, that SOLON, without flattery, might be stiled Brave, Wise, and Honest: how shall we commend him more? Yet we cannot omit those beautiful lines of Mr. Thomson in his praise; who, as he before celebrated the legislator of Sparta, has in his poem of Liberty also thus paid the due regard to him of Athens;

OF softer genius, but not less intent
 To seize the palm of empire, Athens rose;

Where,

Where, with bright marbles big and future pomp,
Hymettus spread, amid the scented sky,
His thymy treasures to the lab'ring Bee,
And to botanic hand the stores of health.
Wrapt in a foul-attenuating clime,
Between Ilissus and Cephissus glow'd
This Hive of Science, shedding sweets divine
Of active arts and animated arms.
There fond of Liberty, an easy-mov'd,
A quick, refin'd, a delicate, humane,
Enlighten'd people reign'd. Oft on the brink
Of ruin hurry'd by the charm of speech,
Inforcing hasty counsel immature,
Totter'd the rash Democracy ; unpois'd,
And by the rage devour'd, that ever tears
A populace unequal : part too rich,
And part or fierce with want or abject grown.
SOLON at last, their mild restorer, rose ;
Allay'd the tempest ; to the calm of laws
Reduc'd the settling whole ; and with the weight,
Which the two senates to the public lent,
As with an anchor, fix'd the driving state.



A

Chronological INDEX

To the FIRST VOLUME.

	Yr. of the <i>W</i>	Befo. Chri.
<i>N</i> Imrod founds the Babilonish monarchy —	1787	2217
<i>Hercul-Affis</i> succeeds <i>Janias</i> in lower <i>Egypt</i> — — — }	2131	1873
<i>Abandons Egypt</i> by treaty —	2179	1825
<i>Sesoftris</i> (the supposed Pharaoh of <i>Moses</i>) is drowned — — — }	2513	1491
<i>Jupiter</i> reigns in <i>Crete</i> — — —	2621	1383
<i>Osiris</i> born — — —	2630	1374
<i>Minos</i> reigns in <i>Crete</i> — — —	2764	1240
<i>Theseus</i> kills the <i>Minotaur</i> — — —	2766	1238
<i>Ægeus</i> drowns himself and <i>Theseus</i> succeeds him	2767	1237
<i>Jason's</i> expedition for the <i>Golden Fleece</i> —	2725	1276
<i>Lycurgus</i> , the legislator of <i>Sparta</i> , born —	3078	926
<i>Enters on his travels</i> for ten years —	3110	894
<i>New forms the government</i> by his laws	3120	884
<i>The first Olympiad</i> begins — — —	3228	776
<i>Solon</i> , the wise law-giver, is <i>Archon</i> at <i>Athens</i>	3410	594
<i>Reproves Theſpis</i> , the inventor of tragedy	3444	560
<i>Dies</i> — — —	3445	559

End of the first Volume.

